OCTOBER 1936

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ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Published monthly in English, Russian, German, French, Chinese and Spanish

Vol. XIII | OCTOBER, 1936 | No. 10

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Workers Library Publishers, P. O. Box 148, Station D, New York City
Subscription price: one year, $1.75; six months, $.90; single copies, 15 cents.

To Protect Despicable Terrorists Is to Help Fascism

By GEORGI DIMITROFF

IT IS impossible to read without a feeling of deepest indignation the telegram sent in such haste to the Soviet government regarding the trial of the terrorist Trotsky-Zinoviev center, by the official representatives of the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, signed by De Brouckere, Adler, Citrine and Schevenels.

Did these reactionary leaders act with the same alacrity when the Communist International proposed to the Labor and Socialist International that joint assistance be given to the Asturian miners when they were fighting with weapons in hand, in October, 1934? Did they hasten to reply to the repeated appeals for joint action made by the Communist International for the protection of the Ethiopian people, when it was attacked by Italian fascism? Not at all. I remember that they stated at that time that they were not competent to enter into negotiations on this question, and that the convening of a session of the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International would have to be waited for. But at that time it was a question of a really just and honest matter, the defense of the vital interests not only of the Spanish but of the international proletariat, and of the fight against the most unjustifiable, disgraceful war of conquest.

But now they show themselves fully competent, on their own account —without consulting their organizations—to take upon themselves the task of protecting the accused terrorists, who had raised their criminal hands against the leader of the Soviet power.

And it was always thus if the proletarian court in the Soviet Union brought down the sword of punishment on saboteurs who scattered glass splinters in the workers' food, poisoned collective farm cattle, spoiled machines, or if the court took action against spies and military saboteurs, agents of fascism who destroyed railway tracks, and caused explosions. Every time such incidents occurred such reactionary leaders as Citrine and Adler, etc., invariably interceded for and came forward to protect this counter-revolutionary gang of ruffians. And it often happened that the sympathy of of the reactionary leaders of the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, as soon as the apparatus of the proletarian dictatorship caught agents of foreign fascism in the act of preparing attacks on the leaders of the Land of Socialism, was not on the side of the workers and collective farmers of the Soviet Union, but on the side of their bitterest enemies.

The leaders of the Labor and Socialist International sent no telegram of sympathy either to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or to

the Soviet government when Comrade Kirov, one of the best sons of the people, selfless fighter for the cause of the liberation of the international working class, was treacherously murdered. On the contrary, at that time also, they hastened to take under their wing those against whom the wrath of the people was directed. It is all the more scandalous that, just at this time, when around the heroically fighting Spanish people a real united front of struggle is being created against the rebel generals, against German and Italian fascism, for the protection of the republic and of democracy, that Citrine and Co. come forward with their hostile demonstration against the Land of Socialism, the most solid and unshakable bulwark of the liberties of the people.

What can these advocates of Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Kamenev say, in view of the irrefutable facts?

Has it not been proved that Trotsky, whom reactionary Socialist leaders made a great song about at one time, is the organizer of individual terrorism in the Soviet Union? It has been proved.

Has it not been proved that his allies, Zinoviev, Kamenev and others, prepared terroristic attempts in the course of a number of years on Comrade Stalin, the greatest leader and organizer of the triumph of socialism, against his best companions in the fight, against the leaders of the Party and Soviet power? It has been proved.

Has it not been proved that this terrorist gang murdered Kirov? It has been proved.

Has it not been proved that these despicable terrorists worked in league with the Gestapo, that is, with the secret police of German fascism, the bitterest foes of the working class, the bestial persecutors and torturers of Communist, Socialist, and non-party workers? It has been proved.

Has it not been proved that the counter-revolutionary terrorists, in the foul atmosphere of their outlawry, cultivated the habits and customs of those fascist executioners who set the Reichstag on fire, and later destroyed persons who took part in that outrage? It has been proved.

All this was proved in an open session of the Soviet court, in the presence of representatives of the international press. It was confirmed by the categorical admissions of the defendants themselves. Driven into a corner by the fact and the irrefutable evidence, they fully admitted having committed the crimes with which they were charged and did not deny their political and organizational connection with fascism. Is it not a fact that in their last speeches the accused, one after the other, admitted the heinousness of their crimes against the working class?

But Citrine, Adler and the others took them under their protection. Ridiculous and pitiable are the statements of these leaders regarding granting the accused the rights due to them. They were granted every possibility of saying whatever they liked. They were granted the right to choose their defending counsel, to call witnesses, to demand examination of the evidence, etc. But they renounced the right of choosing defending counsel, to call any witnesses and to deliver speeches in their defense, for the chain of their crimes was too obvious and indisputably proved;

their crimes were proved before the whole world in public trial by documents, facts, material evidence.

The criminal conspirators were caught red-handed with weapons in hand, with passports in their possession, which they had received from the agents of Hitler and of the Gestapo, with explosives. Documentary proof was adduced before the court regarding the personal leadership of the terrorists by Trotsky, who had sent them to the Soviet Union to murder Stalin, to organize terroristic acts against the leaders of the Socialist state. Overwhelming proof of the guilt of the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorists was produced at an open trial. It was proved beyond dispute that Trotsky, Zinoviev and their gang stood on the other side of the barricades, in the same camp as those who are fighting against the Spanish people, sending airplanes, weapons and munitions to the rebel generals, who are waging a counter-revolutionary civil war in Spain.

Citrine and others are endeavoring to justify their intervention on behalf of the terrorists—the enemies of the Soviet power—by pointing to the necessity of maintaining proletarian solidarity with the fighting working class in Spain. They try to create the impression that the trial of the counter-revolutionary terrorists in the Soviet Union endangers the realization of this proletarian solidarity with the Spanish people. But that is an obvious lie.

The employment of the courts against the agents of fascism is an integral part of the anti-fascist struggle of the international working class. True solidarity with the Spanish people is not compatible with the protection of the agents of fascism in other countries. One cannot sincerely support the Spanish people, which is fighting against fascism, and at the same time play the part of protector of the terrorist rabble in the Soviet Union, thus helping fascism. Whoever supports counter-revolutionary terrorists in the Soviet Union, directly or indirectly, is, at bottom, serving the ends of Spanish fascism; he is rendering difficult the fight of the Spanish people, and facilitating its defeat.

This action of the leaders of the Labor and Socialist International and of the International Federation of Trade Unions is leading to a breaking of the solidarity of the international proletariat with the proletariat of the Soviet Union. It is a blow against the unity movement of the working class of the whole world. It is directed towards the breaking up of the united front of the working people against fascism in Spain, France and other countries. This action of Citrine and others is a direct blow against the heroic fight of the Spanish people, for if the Spanish people should follow the rotten advice which the reactionary Socialists leaders permit themselves to offer to the peoples of the Soviet Union, the resistance of Spanish revolution would be doomed to defeat.

It is just because counter-revolutionary generals went unpunished too long that the Spanish people is having to make such sacrifices—because measures were not taken in good time against the fascists, who were secretly preparing a conspiracy against the people.

There is no reason to doubt that Hitler and Mussolini, Generals Franco and Mola, the fascists of France and other countries, all sworn

enemies of the unity of the working class and the People's Front, all enemies of democracy, of socialism, and of the Soviet Union, will welcome this scandalous act, for this action of Citrine and Adler is directed towards deepening the split in the ranks of the working class of the whole world, and plays into the hands of world reaction.

It would be wrong to ascribe the responsibility for this expression of attitude to all the parties and organizations which belong to the Labor and Socialist International and to the International Federation of Trade Unions.

It is certain that they have not empowered Citrine and Schevenels, de Brouckere and Adler to defend Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev, who organized terrorist acts against the leaders of the great Soviet country. They have not empowered the leaders to take the accused, the allies of German fascism and the Gestapo agents, under their protection. They have not instructed them to make use of the trial of the terrorist gang in order to launch a fresh campaign of slander against the Soviet Union and to disrupt the united front against fascism.

It is the duty of the millions of supporters of unity in the ranks of the Labor and Socialist International and of the I.F.T.U., in connection with the disgraceful intervention of Citrine and the others, to administer a sharp rebuff to the saboteurs of the united front. It is high time that an end was put to their coming forward and speaking in the name of the workers' organizations to the detriment of the united struggle against the common enemy. The example of the accused degenerates plainly reveals to everybody how renegades, double-dealers, who, like Trotsky, make play with radical phrases, act as wreckers in the ranks of the labor movement, and carry out the disgraceful work of fascism. Now even the most short-sighted people can see for what purpose Trotsky needed the formation of a Fourth International, and whom this dirty crowd of crazy petty-bourgeois individualists, self-centered careerists, agents of the Gestapo and of the secret police of other countries, are serving.

To be able to display keen class vigilance at every step, to learn how to distinguish real friends from concealed enemies, to know how to expose double dealers and agents of the class enemy and to remove them ruthlessly and in good time from the ranks of the proletarian organizations—this is one of the most important lessons of the trial for the workers' movement in all countries. We do not doubt that all organizations of the working class will administer a well-merited rebuff to the anti-Soviet sally of the Citrines, that they will strengthen and develop the united front movement, and rally millions of working people around the just national war of the Spanish people against the rebel generals, who are supported by the Italian and German fascists; that they will rally the working class against fascism and its contemptible accomplices, the Trotskyist plotters.

The Trotsky-Zinoviev Fascist Gang Before the Proletarian Court

FOR five days the Supreme Court of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics dealt with the case of the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorist center in open court. The crimes of this band are terrible and monstrous. The history of all revolutions has never yet seen such a collection of foul deeds, perfidy, betrayal, treachery and assassination. All the darkest crimes and worst deeds known to the history of mankind were brought into service by them for the sake of their own selfish aims. The Trotsky-Zinoviev center carried on its foul, fanatic work against socialism, against the leaders of the first proletarian state, over many years, and during this period committed one crime after another. It was established at the trial that at the end of 1932 a group of Trotskyites and a group of Zinovievites, following Trotsky's direct instructions, joined forces and established the so-called "united center". From the Zinovievites, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Yevdokimov and Bakayev joined the center, and from the Trotskyites, I. N. Smirnov, Mrachkovsky and Ter-Vaganyan. The basic task and the only platform of the united center were terror, the restoration of capitalism, the organization of the murder of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet state, and, first and foremost, the great leader of the working class, Comrade Stalin.

With this end in view the united center organized a series of terrorist groups to which Nikolayev, Kotolynov, Levin, Rumyantsev and others belonged in Leningrad, and Dreitser, Reingold, Pickel and others belonged in Moscow. At one time, during the period of the struggle against the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition, all these people who had broken Bolshevik discipline and had taken the road of counter-revolutionary activity were expelled from the Party by the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. But they handed in declarations in which they recognized their mistakes, vowed their loyalty to the Party, and promised honestly to wipe out their guilt, and so they were again accepted into the ranks of the C.P.S.U.

In addititon to those people who were in the Soviet Union, Trotsky, on his part, sent Fritz David, Olberg, Berman-Yurin and others directly from abroad to commit terrorist acts.

The Leningrad group of terrorists, on direct instructions of their leaders, murdered Comrade Kirov on December 1, 1934.

The trial showed that the united Trotsky-Zinoviev center had the foul and monstrous plan of murdering Comrades Stalin, Kirov, Voroshilov, Kaganovich, Orjonikidze, Kossior, Zhdanov, Postyshev and others. And since they professed to repent of their mistakes over a number of years, and hypocritically recognized the leadership of the Party, they hoped, thanks to this, immediately to seize power. All the traces and

threads of the crimes were to have been hidden. No one was to have known about the plot. For this purpose it was proposed to wipe out those directly participating in the murders, those fulfilling the will of the center, as well as all who could be aware of the real role of the leaders of the plot.

They tried to fulfil their plan by all the most foul means. It is difficult to imagine the depths of the moral and political decline of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and others who at one time called themselves Marxists. They made use of all means, including hypocritical repentence and double-dealing, lying, perfidy, murder, a bloc with spies and agents of the Gestapo, and the physical destruction of the members of their own group—all in order to achieve their foul aim of seizing power and overthrowing the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

The ominous figures of Trotsky, Zinoviev, and the others stood out as a terrible nightmare, when the accused related in court how the leaders had endorsed their direct alliance with Hitler's young bloods, who have spilled the blood of the best sons of Germany, and when they told how the leaders of the plot wished physically to destroy those directly fulfilling the crimes, so as to wipe out all traces.

In the court as well a document was produced, and publicly confirmed by Zinoviev, which was monstrous for its baseness. After having sent his agents to assassinate Comrade Kirov, and having given them detailed instructions, Zinoviev waited impatiently for the fulfillment of his foul instructions. And when the shot was fired, and S. M. Kirov was shot from behind and murdered—Kirov the tribune and beloved son of the Party and the toiling masses—Zinoviev sat down to write an obituary note. With one hand he directed the bullets of those who assassinated Kirov, while with the other hand he wrote lines of sorrow and woe, unheard-of for their hypocrisy and baseness.

Zinoviev, Kamenev, Reingold and others had a detailed discussion of a plan practically to fulfil the terrorist acts against Comrade Stalin and his comrades-in-arms. A number of the accused related terrible facts in court of how Zinoviev hurried on his agents to deal their foul blows with more speed. "He literally did not give us any peace", said Bakayev, appointed by Zinoviev to fulfil the role of executioner, "asking us what progress was being made in preparing the assassination, and giving us his instructions and guiding lines".

Step by step the Supreme Court disentangled the collection of crimes, of murders committed and prepared. The whole mechanism of the criminal activity of the Trotsky-Zinoviev center was exposed and laid bare before all the toilers. Connections with Trotsky, passports and revolvers received from the agents of the Gestapo, plans of assassination and the embezzlement of Soviet funds, explosives, conspirative quarters, secret cyphers, etc., were all exposed. The criminals were caught red-handed on the spot, and in the face of indubitable evidence and proofs, they had publicly to admit their guilt.

The foul, terroristic activity of Trotsky and the Trotskyist connections with the Gestapo were absolutely definitely established at the

rial, on the basis of exact factual data. Trotsky himself personally ent people to murder the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet state. He argued with, harangued and fired the dark passions of his agents when sending them to murder the brave leader of the revolution, Comade Stalin.

One after another, there came forward at the trial those who had eceived instructions about terror directly from the lips of Trotsky. Before the court, and in the presence of dozens of bourgeois press correspondents, Berman-Yurin, Olberg, Fritz David and Holtsman, spoke bout this.

Berman-Yurin testified as follows:

"I arrived in Copenhagen early in the morning. This was at the end f November, between the 25th and the 28th of November, 1932. I was net at the station by Grilevich and we went to see Trotsky. Grilevich ntroduced me to Trotsky and left; I remained in the room alone with rotsky.

"Now I come to my conversation with Trotsky. I had two meetings with him. First of all he began to sound me out on my work in the past. He asked me why I had gone over to the position of Trotskyism. I told im about this in great detail. Then Trotsky passed to Soviet affairs. rotsky said: 'The principal question is the question of Stalin. Stalin ust be physically destroyed'. He said that other methods of struggle ere now ineffective. He said that for this purpose people were needed ho would dare anything, who would agree to sacrifice themselves for his—as he expressed it—historic task."

With this the first conversation came to an end. Trotsky went somehere. Berman-Yurin remained in the apartment and waited for his eturn.

Berman-Yurin: "In the evening we continued our conversation. I sked him how individual terrorism could be reconciled with Marxism. o this Trotsky replied: Problems cannot be treated in a dogmatic way. He said that a situation had arisen in the Soviet Union which Marx ould not have foreseen. Trotsky also said that in addition to Stalin ; was necessary to assassinate Kaganovich and Voroshilov."

Vyshinsky: "What other questions did he touch upon besides quesions of terrorism?"

Berman-Yurin: "Trotsky also expressed his views on the situation n the event of intervention against the Soviet Union. He adopted an bsolutely clear defeatist attitude. He also said that the Trotskyites must oin the army, but that they would not defend the Soviet Union."

Following Berman-Yurin, Fritz David said the following:

Vyshinsky: "When did you meet Trotsky?"

Fritz David: "I met him at the end of November, 1932."

Vyshinsky: "How did you come to him?"

Fritz David: I traveled on a false passport. In one of the conversaions I had with Sedov he told me that Trotsky was to come to Europe nd would like to see me."

Vyshinsky: "Tell me, during that meeting with Trotsky, was there talk of terrorism?"

Fritz David: "There was."

Vyshinsky: "On whose initiative?"

Fritz David: "On Trotsky's initiative."

In his testimony regarding the content of his conversation with Trotsky, Fritz David declared that Trotsky said that the advent of the Trotskyites to power in the U.S.S.R. was possible only if Stalin were physically destroyed.

One of the prospects put forward by Trotsky was to take a defeatist attitude in the event of war, but he stressed the point that "there is a closer prospect of the Trotskyites coming to power—the prospect of the physical removal of Stalin."

Vyshinsky: "What was your attitude toward this idea?"

Fritz David: "I accepted this second prospect."

Vyshinsky: "Did you tell him so—that you accepted this line, that you agreed?"

Fritz David: "Yes."

Vyshinsky: "What else occurred?"

Fritz David: "Then Trotsky gave me two instructions. The first instruction concerned secrecy."

Vyshinsky: "You told him you would undertake a terroristic mission?"

Fritz David: "Yes. He proposed that I go to the U.S.S.R. and personally commit a terroristic act, without the aid of others, without any organization, without contacts with other Trotskyites."

Vyshinsky: "And that is what the instruction concerning secrecy amounted to?"

Fritz David: "Yes. Trotsky told me that this affair involved risk and that there was no point in exposing the Trotskyite organization in the U.S.S.R. to that risk. The second instruction was to the effect that this terrorist act was to bear an international character, was to be committed at an international assembly. This shot, as Trotsky expressed it, was to reverberate throughout the whole world."

Vyshinsky: "Did your conversation end with that?"

Fritz David: "Our conversation, which was a very long one, ended with that. Besides, Trotsky said that talk about individual terror not being compatible with Marxism was a subject for the philistines of Marxism."

These people were sent by Trotsky from Germany. But there were others as well. The old Trotskyite, Holtsman, who went abroad from the U.S.S.R. in 1932, received the task from I. N. Smirnov, the leader of the Trotskyite group, to establish connections with Trotsky. And he did so.

Under examination in court, Holtsman stated:

"I arranged with Sedov to be in Copenhagen within two or three days, to put up at the Hotel Bristol and meet him there. I went to the hotel straight from the station and in the lounge met Sedov.

"About 10 a. m. we went to Trotsky. When we arrived Trotsky first of all asked me about the feelings and the attitude of the mass of the Party members towards Stalin. I told him that I intended to leave Copenhagen that day and would leave for the U.S.S.R. within several days. Then Trotsky, walking up and down the room in a rather excited state, told me that he was preparing a letter for Smirnov, but as I was leaving that day he would not write it. I must say that throughout this conversation I was alone with Trotsky. Very often Trotsky's son Sedov came in and out of the room."

Continuing, Holtsman testifies that in the course of the conversation Trotsky said it was "necessary to remove Stalin".

Vyshinsky: "What does 'remove Stalin' mean? Explain it."

Holtsman: "I will speak about that. Then Trotsky said that if Stalin were removed, it would be possible for the Trotskyites to come into power and to the leadership of the C.P.S.U. He also said that the only means of removing Stalin was terrorism."

Vyshinsky: "Did Trotsky say that outright?"

Holtsman: "Yes. He said that for this purpose it was necessary to choose cadres of responsible people fit for this task. Then he said that this was to be communicated to Smirnov, but I was not to tell anybody else about it."

Vyshinsky: "Only Smirnov?"

Holtsman: "Yes. At that moment Sedov came in and began hurrying us to finish the conversation. With this our conversation ended, and I left."

Vyshinsky: "So Trotsky plainly told you that the fundamental task now (that is, in the autumn of 1932) was to assassinate Comrade Stalin? You remember for sure?"

Holtsman: "Yes."

The testimony of these people finally completed the chain of incontrovertible proof and evidence which brand Trotsky as the direct inspirer and organizer of the terror, as the one responsible for the attempts made on the lives of Comrade Stalin, Voroshilov and others, and for the murder of Kirov. In 1931, Trotsky, through his son, Sedov, a past master of foul counter-revolutonary deeds, sent instructions to I. N. Smirnov regarding terror, and in 1932 wrote a letter to the latter about this. He met Holtsman and instructed him to hand over the terrorist line to the Trotskyite center. And finally, he sent Fritz David, Berman-Yurin and other agents to commit the murders.

Trotsky fulfils the darkest and foulest instructions of fascism. And added to this role of his are organizational contacts with Hitler's secret police. Before the court they were exposed and displayed to all the toilers. Trotsky's agents, having been given the task by Trotsky, then received passports, arms, and other aid from the agents of the Gestapo. The Trotskyite Olberg linked himself with his brother, a member of the National-Socialist Party of Germany and working for the secret police, and through him established collaboration with Tukalevsky, a secret agent of Himmler in Czechoslovakia, who aided him in receiving a passport of

citizenship of the Republic of Honduras. The Trotskyites N. Lurye and M. Lurye then linked up in the Soviet Union with Himmler's agent who had already penetrated the Soviet Union, and together they all organized attempts on the lives of the leaders of the Land of the Soviets.

And this is systematic, organized work.

The Trotskyites have long ago established connections direct with Hitler's secret police. At the trial the defendant Olberg spoke about this with the cynicism of a real fascist shark. In reply to the questions of the State Attorney about his second journey to the U.S.S.R., he declared:

"This time I intended to travel to the U.S.S.R. by way of Germany. Tukalevsky advised me to meet Slomowitz in Berlin. I had known her previously. Tukalevsky told me that the Berlin Trotskyites had concluded an agreement with the Gestapo and that if I met Slomovitz in Berlin I could obtain assistance and help from her if I needed it.

"I visited Slomovitz in Berlin, and she told me the following: During my absence the Trotskyite cadres dwindled to a small group, and they were now confronted with the dilemma: either to dissolve or to come to an agreement with the German fascists. The basis for the agreement was the preparation and carrying out of acts of terrorism against the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government. Trotsky had sanctioned the agreement between the Berlin Trotskyites and the Gestapo, and the Trotskyites were in fact left free.

"From the point of view of the Berlin Trotskyites, the overthrow of the Soviet system, the fight against the Soviet government, were conceivable in two ways: either by intervention, or by individual terroristic acts.

"In Slomovitz's apartment I met an employee of the Gestapo, to whom she introduced me, and he informed me that if I needed assistance he would willingly help me in preparing terroristic acts, in the first place against Stalin."

Other people, sent by the Trotskyist organization to commit terrorist acts in the U.S.S.R., organized them together with agents of the Gestapo.

At the trial the defendants Moissei and Nathan Lurye brought forward concrete facts of this joint activity of Trotsky's emissaries and Hitler's agents.

In answer to a question by the State Attorney, M. Lurye testified as follows:

"On leaving Berlin for Moscow on March 4, 1933, I received definite instructions. I received these instructions from Ruth Fischer and Maslov, but actually they were the instructions of Trotsky himself. I had been connected with Ruth Fischer since 1924, and in opposition work in the Zinoviev faction had been connected with her since October, 1925. I had been connected with Maslov since 1927 when I returned to Berlin from Moscow. The instructions were of the following character: Trotsky is of the opinion and insists, and we, that is to say, Maslov and Ruth Fischer, are in agreement with Trotsky's instruction to the effect that it is necessary to speed up the organization of terroristic acts against the

leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government, in the first place against Stalin. I received these instructions personally in verbal form from Ruth Fischer and Maslov on March 4, 1933, as I have already said."

Vyshinsky: "I am waiting for your statement on the practical steps you took in this direction."

M. Lurye: "On arriving in Moscow on March 9, 1933, I brought this verbal instruction to its destination, namely, to Zinoviev's former personal emissary in Berlin, A. V. Herzberg. I was connected with Herzberg in Zinovievite work from November, 1927, until his departure for Moscow at the end of 1931. I communicated this instruction not later than the middle of April. Herzberg accepted the instruction and said that this instruction from Trotsky, Ruth Fischer and Maslov was fully in accord with identical decisions already adopted by our center in the U.S.S.R."

On three occasions M. Lurye met Zinoviev. During one of these meetings, which took place at Zinoviev's apartment at the beginning of August, 1934, Lurye gave Zinoviev detailed information as to Trotsky's instructions, received through Ruth Fischer and Maslov, about the preparation of terrorist acts, in particular about the activities of the group of Nathan Lurye (another of the accused possessing the same surname as his).

M. Lurye: "I can add something to Nathan Lurye's testimony and about my important conversation with Zinoviev concerning Weitz's group. Nathan Lurye informed me concretely of the work of the terrorist group organized by Weitz. Noting my perplexity when I heard about this sort of ally, N. Lurye asked me what I thought about it. I replied that my personal attitude played no role here, that I would immediately report it to proper quarters, and said to N. Lurye: if you do not receive a reply in the negative, this will mean that you are working with the knowledge of the center."

Vyshinsky: "Whom personally did you have in mind?"

M. Lurye: "I had contacts with A. V. Herzberg, a person enjoying the particular confidence of Zinoviev. N. Lurye did not receive a reply in the negative from me. From the time of my conversation with him in April, 1933, Nathan Lurye's group, which was organized by the fascist Franz Weitz, worked with the knowledge and indisputably with the consent of the center, and of Zinoviev personally."

Nathan Lurye carried through these instructions of his masters, Trotsky and Zinoviev. When he came to the Soviet Union he immediately established connections with Hitler's agent. In court he testified as follows:

N. Lurye: "I told Konstant about the terroristic instructions I had received from the Trotskyite organization through Moissei Lurye. Konstant told me it was not news to him. They, too, had terroristic instructions and had even taken practical steps to carry them out. He told me that they had a terrorist group to which Konstant and Lipschitz, and also a German engineer-architect, Franz Weitz, belonged."

Vyshinsky: "Who is Franz Weitz?"

N. Lurye: "Franz Weitz was a member of the National-Socialist Party of Germany. He arrived in the U.S.S.R. on the instructions of Himmler who at that time was chief of the S.S. and subsequently became chief of the Gestapo."

Vyshinsky: "Franz Weitz was his representative?"

N. Lurye: "Frank Weitz arrived in the U.S.S.R. on the instructions of Himmler for the purpose of committing terroristic acts."

Vyshinsky: "Where did you learn this?"

N. Lurye: "The first one to tell me about it was Konstant, but later on Franz Weitz himself told me. . . ."

"I arrived at the conclusion," said N. Lurye, "that since the Trotskyites had adopted the method of fighting with arms this had its logic, that is to say, that if a fascist offered his services for the purposes of terrorism, those services should be made use of. I continued my connections with Franz Weitz and worked under his practical guidance."

As a provocateur of provocateurs, Trotsky understood that the wrath of the workers of all lands would fall on his head when they learned of his terroristic deeds against the Land of the Soviets, and so he gave his agents the strictest instructions not under any circumstances to speak about him. No one was to indicate that he had received instructions from Trotsky. All those who had been sent by him and stood before the court were unanimous in declaring this to be so.

The State Attorney put the direct question, and the whole court heard the reply of Trotsky's emissary:

Vyshinsky: "When did you have that talk with Sedov about not permitting the Trotskyite organization to be compromised?"

Olberg: "That was at the time of my second journey. He said that if I were arrested by the organs of state security of the U.S.S.R., I was under no circumstances to say that this terroristic act was carried out on Trotsky's instructions and, at all events, I was to try to conceal Trotsky's role."

Trotsky insisted on this dozens of times to Holtsman, F. David and others. And now this past master of fanatical provocation and treacherous assassination is once again attempting to deny the fact of his leadership and participation in the terrorist activity of the Trotsky-Zinoviev group.

But he has been caught red-handed, exposed by his own agents, by facts and documents. At the open trial, before the eyes of the whole world, and in the presence of dozens of press representatives, the real role of Trotsky as the inspirer and organizer of the terrorists who killed Kirov, and whom he sent to murder Stalin and Voroshilov, was exposed and displayed.

Let all proletarians and all honest people in the world know of the black and evil role of Trotsky.

The Trotsky-Zinoviev counter-revolutionary grouping which stood before the Supreme Court has its long history. Prior to the great October socialist revolution, Trotsky for many years fought against Lenin,

against Bolshevism. When in 1917 he joined the Party, Trotsky temporarily put away his views but did not give them up. And for ten years, from 1917 to 1927 he systematically opposed the Leninist Party, and carried on a factional struggle at each turn of the Party in the struggle for socialism.

The anti-Bolshevik activity of Trotsky, the strike-breaking behavior of Zinoviev and Kamenev in 1917, their opposition to the Party in the period of the Brest Peace, and in the trade union discussion, and the tremendous political mistakes committed in military questions which led to disastrous consequences, are widely known to the masses of Communists and non-Party toilers. The struggle broke out with new force after the death of Lenin. The Trotskyites and Zinovievites tried to make use of the loss of the great founder and creator of Bolshevism, in order to turn the Party away from its Leninist position, to seize hold of the leadership, and to replace Leninism by Trotskyism. At this sharp turn in the development of the first land of the proletarian dictatorship towards the socialist reconstruction of the economic life of the country, there arose the fundamental problems of the struggle for socialism. The question of the victory of socialism in one country became the hub of the struggle against the anti-Party groupings over a number of years. The years 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926 and 1927 were all filled with sharp and bitter struggle against Trotskyism and the Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc. The fate of the revolution was decided in these battles. All the anti-Bolshevik and anti-Leninist elements gathered their forces on the ideological basis of Trotskyism, in an attempt to divert the Party and the proletarian state to their own path, which would have brought with it ruin for socialism and triumph for world reaction. Over the course of a number of years the Leninist Party dealt blow after blow at the Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc, and when the latter began to break the bounds of Bolshevik discipline and set up another party, the Bolsheviks who had secured the ideological destruction of the opposition threw the supporters of the bloc out of the Party's ranks. The whole of this struggle against the Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc was headed by Lenin's great comrade-in-arms, Stalin, he who organized the defense of Leninism and the salvation of the land of socialism from the ruinous path towards which the Trotskyists were dragging it.

The whole world followed the struggle, which flared up, with rapt attention. Those hostile to the revolution and the enemies of the working class hoped for the victory of Trotskyism and greeted the activity of their bloc against the Party. In these actions, they justly saw the shattering of the iron ranks of Bolshevism, of the Party's unity which is the most important guarantee of the successful building of socialism.

After the Fifteenth Congress, Trotsky, expelled from the C.P.S.U., continued to carry on an open struggle against the Party, and after being banished beyond the bounds of the U.S.S.R., found his place in the same ranks as all the worst enemies of the Soviets, namely, the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and other types of White Guards.

"The hound returned to its vomit"; Trotskyism became transformed into the foremost detachment of the counter-revolution. Trotsky carried on a slanderous campaign in the columns of the bourgeois press against the land of Soviets, against the Party, and against Leninism.

The Zinoviev-Kamenev section of the bloc, and a number of Trotskyites handed in statements in which they recognized their mistakes and vowed their loyalty to the C.P.S.U., and asked to be taken back into its ranks. But reality has shown that this was only base deception of the Party, unheard-of double-dealing calculated on covering themselves up by remaining in the Party, and once again opening the struggle against it at a suitable moment. To this end they attempted to preserve their forces. Zinoviev and Kamenev gave their supporters the signal to return to the Party. Soon after his expulsion by the Fifteenth Congress, Zinoviev wrote to his pupil Rumyantsev, one of the assassins of Comrade Kirov, that all measures must be taken to get hold of a Party ticket, and that he should be ready to make any sort of declaration, the only thing necessary that it be considered satisfactory.

For a number of years they established a system of Jesuitic deception of the Party and, not in the least disturbed about it, resorted to the foulest means of struggle against the Party and the Soviet state. While still an opposition inside the Party for many years, the Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc resorted to means and methods which laid the basis for their later provocatory and double-dealing activity. These methods systematically spread a foul philosophy to the effect that all means are suitable in the struggle against the Party. In the struggle against the dictatorship of the proletariat, they brought back to life in our days, the fanatical thesis of Ignatius Loyola, the old founder of the Order of Jesuits. In the ranks of the opposition, the supporters of Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev were taught to break the discipline of the Party and to deceive the Party authorities. Here they learned the art of conspiracy, how to establish narrow factional groupings which set their own mercenary interests above the interests of the Party and the working class, above everything.

The entire chain of anti-Party means of struggle was in the arsenal of the Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc. This included deceptive declarations made on October 4 and 16, 1926, the conclusion of unprincipled blocs between various anti-Party groupings, the unrestrained demagogy which was calculated on winning backward sections of the population, the falsification of figures and facts with a view to scaring the Party, and threats of inevitable catastrophe in case the proposals of the opposition were not accepted, and, finally, the establishment of their faction, of illegal printing presses and the attempt to organize an anti-Soviet demonstration on the Tenth Anniversary of the great proletarian revolution. All these methods reared people capable of anything, and accustomed them to see no limits in the struggle against the Party, whose decisions and the opinions of the Party organizations were not considered at all.

The Trotsky-Zinoviev group systematically tried, over a number of years, to cast a slur on the leadership of the Party, and carried on a special campaign to discredit its leading workers, spreading foul slanders

and base rumors. Comrade Stalin exposed the pernicious activity of Trotskyism many years ago when he said:

> "Trotskyism is lack of faith in the leaders of Bolshevism, an attempt to discredit them, to depose them. I do not know of a single trend inside the Party to be compared with Trotskyism as regards discrediting the leaders of Leninism or the central institutions of the Party."*

The defeat suffered by the Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc did not lead to its supporters honestly reconsidering their mistakes and attempting to wipe out their blame by sincere work. The Party provided them with all the possibilities for doing so. But Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and the miserable collection of their myrmidons took another path, and sank to the bottomless pit of counter-revolution and terrorism.

Hatred, mean malice and careerist calculations on coming to power were the only moving motives of their counter-revolutionary activity. Such was the situation which fed the miserable supporters of Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev with poison of degeneration.

In the whole period following the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., the shattered remnants of the Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc waited and hoped for the collapse of the policy of the Party, waited for the collapse of the Stalinist five-year plans. Trotsky in the columns of the bourgeois press, and Zinoviev and Kamenev in the circle of their adherents, on dozens of occasions forecast the collapse of the industrialization in the Soviet Union and the collectivization of the countryside. It was with the eyes of enemies that the Trotsky-Zinoviev group looked at the successes of the U.S.S.R. In court, facts were exposed, displayed and recognized by the defendants themselves, which go to show that they put forward a platform of defeatism. In the menacing days of 1932 and 1933, when the danger of war in the Far East, prepared by the Japanese imperialists, hung over the Soviet Union, the Trotsky-Zinoviev center gave instructions to their people to strive for the defeat of the Soviet Union in the war. According to the opinion of these traitors to the socialist fatherland, it could bring them to power. It was with the cynicism of real bandits that they spoke about it being unimportant if the Japanese imperialists should seize hold of the Far East, for they calculated in such a case to seize power themselves. Trotsky gave written instructions of the need to prepare and carry on disruptive work in the Red Army and to prepare to deal it a blow in the back.

But all their hopes met with defeat. One more of their cards proved to be worthless. The country went from victory to victory. In this situation the Trotsky-Zinoviev group turned to terror.

This group has not been surpassed for treachery. It acted in the days when the Party and the Soviet Union left far behind the sharp and difficult turns on the road to the victory of socialism. Millions of workers and collective farmers are displaying miracles of labor heroism in the creation of socialist society. Mighty sources of the liberation of

* Stalin, *On the Opposition*. Articles and Speeches, 1921-27, p. 119. Russian ed.

the creative power of the people have been discovered. Many difficulties connected with socialist reconstruction have been passed, and the country with its many millions of people is reaping the fruits of its great work. Tremendous and real perspectives of unheard-of plentitude and human happiness have opened up before the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and all the toilers. There are no two opinions in the ranks of the toilers as to the correctness of the path taken by the C.P.S.U., for the victories won by it under the guidance of the great Stalin are here at hand.

And it was precisely at this period of great victories for socialism, that this foul, treacherous Trotsky-Zinoviev grouping of the enemies of the people carried on their activity. They were unable to put forward in opposition to the line of the Party any open program whatsoever; literally they had nothing with which to come forward. The achievements of the Party are great and triumphant. And so, with all their trickery, they could not find anything to set against this line. It was brutal malice, downright hatred, and the desire to get to power so as to bring about the restoration of capitalism that was the first and last word of their program.

Characteristic of the whole of the activity of the united center was the fact that it did not even raise the question of going to the masses, and of attempting to win supporters on the basis of its "program". It knew that such attempts were doomed to failure, and that every honest toiler on learning of its foul designs would take all measures to destroy the group as mad dogs. During the whole of this period it constituted a narrow, boxed-in group who for many years had carried on the struggle against the Party in the ranks of the Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc.

Their brutal hatred of the Party and the Soviet state led this group to enter into a bloc with the darkest forces of world reaction. It was thus that there was established the united fascist-whiteguard Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc from Hitler to Trotsky-Zinoviev.

All the foul, abominable activity of Trotsky in the U.S.S.R. is indissolubly connected with his counter-revolutionary struggle on the international arena. From the moment when he was expelled from the Soviet Union, he made use of his stay in the bourgeois countries to carry on a fierce struggle against the interests of the working class, against the unification of their forces for the struggle against fascism and against the Comintern.

Whereas the workers and toilers of the capitalist countries lovingly and joyously follow the successes of the Land of the Soviets, Trotsky unceasingly slanders it and attempts to revile its great victories. There is no limit to the filth and lies that he has hurled against the first proletarian state in the effort to sow the black grains of enmity and hatred.

In the days when all honest people throughout the world followed with admiration the struggle of Comrade Dimitroff, the hero and great tribune of the struggle against fascism, at the Leipzig trial, Trotsky came forward with foul concoctions and acts of provocation. Both prior to and after this Trotsky has unceasingly occupied himself with this

povocatory work of his, taking his place in the same ranks as the fascist executioners and assassins.

And everywhere and in all things he acts at one with them. Now when the working class has found the surest means of carrying on the struggle against fascism, namely, by uniting their forces and the forces of the toiling anti-fascists by creating a united and people's front, Trotsky is carrying on a fierce struggle against it. In France where, thanks to the line of the Party, serious blows have been dealt against fascism, although even there it has not been possible to wipe it out yet—when this policy has achieved great successes for the proletariat, Trotsky with the ferocity of a chained dog rose up against it. He is striving to split the forces of the working class. At the time when everything speaks in favor of the policy of the united front, on the basis of which the workers of France have achieved wage increases, and a struggle has begun against the corruption of state officials, while fascist organizations are being disbanded, and friendship with the Soviet Union against Hitler is being strengthened, Trotsky opposes the policy of the united front, distorts facts, and casts mud at the leaders and supporters of the policy of the People's Front.

In Spain, where the masses of the people are carrying on a heroic struggle against the fascist insurgents, for the Republic and for a free and happy Spain, Trotsky and his agents put forward an adventurist policy. Here he is again trying to repeat the line for which Lenin and the proletariat of Russia condemned him for many years. The only result of these Trotskyist adventures in Spain can be to deal a blow at the revolution. In Spain, as in the Soviet Union, the foul activity of the Trotskyists and the Gestapo are directly interwoven. The agents of Hitler's Secret Police prepared the Spanish fascists for the struggle against the Republic long before the military revolt broke out. And here the Gestapo made use of the activity of the Trotskyists.

Insignificant, miserable and few in numbers is the handful of Trotsky's adherents. But it must be remembered that he is doing the job of fascism, receives help and support from it, and therefore his ability to do harm increases. The trial of the Trotsky-Zinoviev band of terrorists has shown how heavy the blow can be if vigilance is weakened, if no steps are taken to completely crush them.

Trotskyism must be liquidated. Every honest person must clearly see the fascist essence of Trotskyism, and the need to crush it.

All the peoples of the Soviet Union and honest working people throughout the world have been seized by a storm of anger and indignation against the contemptible Trotsky-Zinoviev pack of assassins, and wholly and entirely endorse the sentence of shooting passed by the proletarian court.

The 170,000,000 people of the Soviet Union rose up, powerful and menacing in their wrath, demanding the merciless destruction of the enemies of socialism, who raised their hands against what is most sacred and dear to the hearts of millions of toilers, namely, the life of Stalin. During the days of the trial, letters and telegrams expressing profound

love for the C.P.S.U. and its leaders, for the leader of the peoples, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, poured into Moscow from all corners of the Soviet Union, from its factories, mills, mines and collective farm villages, and from the working people of the capitalist countries.

The life of Stalin is needed by all proletarians and oppressed peoples of the world. By making an attempt on his life, the black band of Trotskyist assassins made an attempt on the happiness of millions of people, on the victory of socialism.

The workers of Red Presny section of Moscow who raised the famous historic revolt against tsardom in 1905 splendidly expressed the feelings of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the working people throughout the world. In their address to the one against whose life the Trotsky-Zinoviev assassins made an attempt, the workers said:

> "We have seen much and lived through much in our time. We have borne three revolutions on our backs, and it seemed that it would be difficult to surprise us, at any rate, with anything. But the sort of treachery of which the Trotsky-Zinoviev pack is capable, we never knew even from the Tsar's Life Guards and wild gendarmes. These monsters were capable of murdering the never-to-be forgotten Sergei Mironovich Kirov, and of wiping away their crocodile tears with hands covered with blood.
>
> "Dear Joseph Vissarionovich! Your name together with that of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin are the most dear to us, as dear as a beloved child is to its mother. You have devoted and are now devoting the whole of your life to the interests of the people. All that is splendid, all that is most joyous among honest working people, is linked up with your name. You are needed by the country, by mankind, as the sun which radiates life. This is why you should not be angry with us for our strict instruction to you.
>
> "Take care of yourself, dear one, guard your life against all enemies and adversaries.
>
> *"Your life belongs to the people, to the revolution, to the great cause of Communism. It is the duty of every sincere person to guard you as the apple of the eye."*

In the capitalist countries, the organizations of the workers and toilers, one after the other, are sending greetings to the great Stalin, and are denouncing the terrorists.

All conclusions must be drawn from the trial of the Trotsky-Zinoviev band of assassins. Facts have shown once again how the agents of Trotsky craftily penetrate into the ranks of the working class movement and its Communist vanguard.

They resort to the foul practice of double-dealing and provocation, presented to them by their teachers, Trotsky and Zinoviev. A whole number of anti-Bolshevik groupings which formerly carried on a struggle against the Comintern has, along with and under the leadership of the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition, slid down with it to the camp of fascism. Ruth Fischer and Maslov, as the trial has shown, sent agents of Trotsky to commit terrorist acts in the Soviet Union. They it was who sent M.

Lurye (Emil) who was one of the most loathsome figures at the trial. A number of groupings like that of Doriot are precipitately descending to open service of fascism. But they have left some of their men in the ranks of the Party so as to deal treacherous blows in the back, so as the more easily to make their way to the center of the world revolution, to the center of the anti-fascist struggle.

Vigilance, profound Bolshevik vigilance must be operated everywhere and at all times on all sectors of the struggle. One cannot pass by such facts that people such as Fritz David, M. Lurye, etc., made use of an absence of vigilance, and in a number of cases, of direct petty-bourgeois complacency to make their way into the Party bodies to carry out their bandit activity. It was only rotten liberalism which is impermissible for Bolsheviks, looseness and the failure to fulfil instructions regarding the need of studying cadres that made things easier for these class enemies of the proletariat. All the Communist Parties must understand that Trotskyism has long become the vanguard detachment of the counter-revolution, a component part of fascism, and that it is thereby that all the tasks of the struggle against Trotsky are determined.

In the light of these facts of the treacherous activity of the Trotsky-Zinoviev counter-revolution, especially shameful is the behavior of W. Citrine, F. Adler, etc. *To defend the Trotskyite terrorists means to help fascism.* Only such a conclusion follows from the behavior of these people of the Second International. The advocates of Trotskyism have received a suitable reproof from the Communist International. Comrade Dimitroff has shown the meaning and significance of their behavior. The task of the Communists and those active in the united front is to demand the condemnation of the shameful behavior of Citrine and Adler, and to draw all the necessary conclusions so as to expose the people who come forward in defense of the counter-revolutionaries who murdered Comrade Kirov and who prepared themselves to murder the great leader of the proletariat, Comrade Stalin.

The working people of the world are filled with hatred, wrath and loathing at the Trotsky-Zinoviev group which has been branded by them forever, and will go down into history as the foulest Judas group of provocateurs, double dealers and assassins.

The last card played by these degenerates has lost. There is no force such as could stop the victorious iron march of the millions of proletarians trained by the Party of Lenin and Stalin. No trickery by their enemies frightens the Bolsheviks. Throughout the whole world echo the words of Stalin regarding the enemies of Bolshevism, when he said:

> "These people have evidently forgotten that we Bolsheviks are people of a special mold. They have forgotten that the Bolsheviks are not to be scared by difficulties, by threats. They have forgotten that we have been hammered out by the great Lenin, our leader, our teacher, our father, who did not know and did not recognize fear in the struggle. They have forgotten that the more the enemy rages and the more opponents inside the Party fall into hysterics, the more the Bolsheviks are afire for new struggle, and the more precipitately they move forward."

All For the People's Front, All Through the People's Front *

By M. THOREZ

LESS than six months have passed since the Eighth Congress of our Communist Party.** But what changes have taken place since that time in the situation in France and in the conditions of the working people!

The People's Front won splendid victories at the parliamentary elections on April 26 and May 3. The Communist Party of France received its deserving share in this great success. The policy of unity, the tireless champions of which we are, is yielding its fruits.

The agreement regarding united action, which links us up with our brother Socialists, the re-establishment of a united General Confederation of Labor, the agreement between the Communists, Socialists and Radicals, and the unification of all Republicans—all these measures enabled us to beat off the attacks of reaction and fascism, and now make it possible for us to operate a policy which answers to the desires of the people, and the correctly understood interests of our country.

The people of France clearly expressed their will.

The people want *"bread, freedom and peace"*, according to the formula which Comrade Delmare (Secretary of the Teachers' Federation) called "the splendid formula of the Communists", and which so well summarizes the program of the People's Front.

The duty of the Party, and of the groupings united in the People's Front is thus absolutely clear, namely, to operate the program of the People's Front which they drew up together, and which bears the signatures of all of them.

The Communist Party—need we mention it?—intends conscientiously to fulfill its duty.

This Party Conference has been called for this purpose. And we must really sum up the results, strike the first balance of our achievements, and indicate the road we shall take in order to fulfill the program of the People's Front.

While defining our tasks, we must at the same time take note of the growth of our influence and our organization, we must remember that the Party has doubled its membership since the Villeurbanne Congress.

1. THE STRUGGLES OF THE WORKING CLASS FOR BREAD

In the sphere of home policy, two main events have taken place since January. First and foremost there was the election victory of the

* From the speech of Comrade Thorez at the Conference of the Communist Party of France held in Paris on July 10 and 11, 1936.

** The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of France took place in Villeurbanne on January 22-26, 1936.

People's Front, and the formation of a government headed by Socialists, and then the powerful movement of the working class for economic demands. The link between these two sides of the advance of the people is absolutely clear.

The success at the elections called forth a wave of enthusiasm among the working people, whom the unification of the trade union movement had already filled with great faith in their strength, and with great enthusiasm. The working class, the driving force in the People's Front, recognized its strength.

Fighting under the leadership of their strike committees, and the C.G.T., which now has more than four million members, the workers achieved the granting of fundamentally important demands. For the first time an agreement was concluded covering seven million industrial workers. The representatives of the employers were compelled to guarantee the recognition of the rights of the trade unions, and to give their agreement to the right of shop stewards to carry out their functions. However, the increase in wages provided for in this agreement* has proved to be insufficient especially for the lower paid workers.

The laws regarding collective agreement, holidays with pay and the 40-hour working week were adopted as urgent measures, and this does credit to the government and parliament. But the main thing remains to be done, namely, to ensure that the laws are operated.

Comrades Cost and Crois,** deputies and leaders of the Metal Workers, have informed the government of systematic violations of the law by the exploiters.

The collective agreements are still ignored or violated by the employers. At some works, workers are fired on the excuse of reorganization. The government has still not drawn up official regulations which will make it possible to operate the 40-hour working week.

And if the capitalists continue to assert that they cannot bear the new burdens, and that their enterprises will soon go bankrupt (something we do not believe), then what other conclusions can the working class draw, other than the capitalist system of production must go out of existence, if only we wish to ensure the well-being of the working people, and prosperity in the country.

2. THE ECONOMIC DEMANDS OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

The activity of the working class has made it possible for them to achieve the satisfaction of a number of their demands. It is absolutely clear that the People's Front must take heed of the economic demands of all other categories of working people.

Take the unemployed. In anticipation of the opening of public works, and especially of a general livening up of economic activity which would give them work, unemployment benefits must be raised, in view of the increased cost of living. And should not the procedure whereby the un-

* The wage increase ranged from 7 per cent for the higher paid workers to 15 per cent for the lower paid workers. See *The Communist International*, No. 8. Article by Comrade Marty.

** Cost is Secretary of the Paris Metal Workers Federation, and Crois is the Secretary of the Metal Workers Federation of France. Both are Communists.

employed are placed on the lists entitling them to receive unemployment benefit be simplified?

The program of the People's Front also states that:

> "In anticipation of the complete and speedy abolition of all the injustices brought about by the emergency decrees, we demand the immediate abolition of the measures which affect those categories which suffer most from these decrees."

On the proposal of the government, parliament has already introduced a series of proposals which considerably improve the conditions of the working people. But this is only a beginning.

Ex-servicemen's and war victims' pensions will no longer be subjected to taxation. But the ex-servicemen are waiting for the complete restoration of their pensions, the abolition of the disgraceful 13 per cent reduction in their pensions brought about by the decrees issued by the Doumergue and Laval governments.

The salaries and pensions of the lower civil servants have been raised, but the latter and those in receipt of pensions are hoping that the government will not stop at this first step.

Further, the allocations made to assist families where there are many children and the families of young conscripted soldiers, invalids, aged people, and incurably sick people, and the allocations for laboratories, hospitals, dispensaries and various social prophylactic institutions must not only be restored but also increased.

We have introduced a proposal that a special bank be established, a so-called "National Solidarity" bank for the benefit of old workers, aged 55 years or more, who should be given an annual payment of 3,600 francs plus 1,200 francs for their wives.

The 10 per cent reduction from interest received by the small bondholders must be abolished. The decree issued by Laval was a heavy blow at former tradesmen and handicraft workers, and all kinds of people who had already been ruined by the devaluation of the franc while Poincare was in power.

Our Party considers it necessary to extend the operation of social legislation to cover agricultural workers as well. The laws regarding collective agreements and holidays with pay are applicable to agriculture as well. But the law regarding the 40-hour working week does not mention agricultural workers. The length of the working day must be defined, and an obligatory weekly holiday must be established for agricultural laborers. In addition a number of instructions must be drawn up which in their totality will constitute a labor code for agricultural workers.

1. Extra allowances for large families to be secured.
2. The establishment of arbitration councils or sections to examine labor conflicts in agriculture.
3. A labor inspectorate to be established in the village.
4. The improvement of hygienic conditions and safety devices on the farms.

5. Equality between agricultural and industrial workers in relation to the social insurance law.

6. The abolition of hiring labor by the day, and of bargaining in connection with the hiring of labor in agriculture.

While our Communist Party is concerned about strengthening the necessary alliance between the working class and the peasants, it is paying tremendous attention to the demands of the People's Front which concern the working peasants, small landholders, farmers and those who pay rent in kind. Our Party which has received hundreds of thousands of votes in the village and which has many peasant deputies or comrades elected in purely agricultural districts, our Party, which has one of its best leading workers, Comrade Renaud Jean, in charge of the Agricultural Commission in Parliament, cannot be indifferent to the problem of agriculture.

The People's Front must give a better life to the working people in the village, as it must to the working people in the towns.

What do the peasants want?

First and foremost, they want to sell their products at prices which ensure them a just return for their labor, prices which guarantee the development of agriculture and the perfection of methods of cultivation, *i.e.*, general progress in agriculture which remains a decisive and component part of our national economic life.

The People's Front must act in the direction of securing that the increase in the prices of agricultural products continue.

Unfortunately, we have to declare that the small producers have had to sell their products at lower prices, and that it is the big producers who have chiefly benefited from the increased prices at the end of the summer.

The inter-departmental bureau for the sale of grain should not permit the repetition of such facts.

The peasants further demand the lightening of the debt burden which they have had to bear during the period of the agricultural crisis. Tens of thousands of agriculturists are in debt to the Agricultural Credit Bank, to the Exchequer, to the landowners and also to all kinds of moneylenders. Hence considerable difficulties, privations and despair, not to mention ruin, distraints and auctioning of property. A moratorium must be provided, interest rates must be reduced, and the debts themselves cut down, while state aid must be organized in the shape of credits at low rates of interest, to be provided by the Agricultural Credit Banks.

Agriculturists are expecting a revision of rental agreements, since the maximum rates, according to the new agreements, are two and a half times higher than those of 1914.

A revision must be made of the law regarding payment in kind, even before this relic of feudal economy is abolished.

Our Party insists on the abolition of the corvée system (rent by labor) on the compulsory conclusion of rent agreements in a written form, on the right of those who pay rent in kind to manage the land rented to them, as they themselves think fit, and especially on the con-

clusion of a collective agreement which guarantees those paying rent in kind not only all civil rights but also a just return for their labor.

Finally, we must secure cheaper fertilizers for the peasants, and in the plan for public works, a bigger place must be devoted to the laying down of high roads, the electrification of our villages, and the laying down of pipe lines, etc.

Of course, the People's Front and the Communist Party must urgently occupy themselves with the question of improving the poverty-stricken conditions of the small shopkeepers and handicraft workers. The livening up of business will assist in bringing about an improvement in the conditions of the small traders who are being ruined for want of customers.

But in this sphere as well the taxation system as established by Germain Martin* and Doumergue who cast the burden of new taxation amounting to 310,000,000 francs on the small traders, while the big traders were relieved of the payment of 355,000,000 francs, must be abolished without delay. We must achieve the cessation of legal proceedings against the shopkeepers who are weighed down with debts, and put an end to distraints and the sale of property by auction. Further, according to the general program of the People's Front, we must proceed to review the conditions of the hiring of trading premises, and abolish the trading license, replacing it by a single tax on profits.

A more complicated problem is that of the conditions of the handicraft workers who have to ensure their apprentices not only an increase in wages, but also the operation of the social insurance laws in regard to them. While the big capitalist is in a position to apply the law, difficulties may arise for the handicraft workers and even for the small capitalist. The handicraft workers and small employers carry on production in far worse conditions than does the big capitalist, and it is possible that when they sell their products at their market prices they only receive a very modest profit. We therefore consider it a wise thing to provide for direct aid for these handicraft workers from the state.

Finally, the Communist Party displays the greatest care for the children, who are our very brightest hope. The crisis has increased the poverty-stricken conditions of all working people. It has deepened the poverty of the large families, and the worries of fathers and mothers. It has led to a sharp excess of the death rate over the birth rate, this terrible scourge which is threatening the future of our people.

Our Party demands the more effective protection of the children, and has taken up a position which corresponds at one and the same time to the interests of the large families and the interests of our country today and in the future.

The mother and the child must be rid of the life lived in hovels, misery, privation and sickness. Not to mention the need for increasing the birth rate, we can cut down the death rate among children and weaken the destructive force of tuberculosis and syphilis. The country must be given an adequate number of creches, and kindergartens for

* Minister of Finance in the Doumergue government in 1934.

the young children who have passed the creche stage. We must set about the building of large schools, full of light and air.

Our Party has taken the question of sport in hand. The young people are the most splendid hope of our people. Yet to the unfavorable demographic* data for France there is being added the severe effect of the crisis on the health of our young people who were born in the terrible war years and those directly after the war. The army recruiting commissions draw attention to the increase in the percentage of people unfit for military service.

On the other hand, the money-making spirit of the capitalists prevents sport being extended on a wide and healthy scale. Our sport teams present a very pitiful picture at international contests.

We have demanded the allocation of a credit of 1,000,000,000 francs to assist in developing sports activities among our young people, for the building of sports grounds, swimming pools, gymnasium halls and stadiums, and for the training of sports teachers and instructors, and for the organization of compulsory medical inspection.

Comrade Lagrange, the Under-Secretary of State for Sports Affairs, has expressed his agreement with this program which corresponds to the wishes of French sportsmen, and our desire to build up a strong and happy France.

Our Comrade Barrel quite correctly concerned himself with the question of the development of tourism on the French Riviera.

Without losing a single one of our usual visitors, we can quite well organize rest for many thousands of working people there. The same is true as regards Paris and, in general, all the interesting spots in our splendid country.

The simple enumeration of the economic demands included in the program of the People's Front and the demands for the protection of the children, and of sport added by us, are giving rise to a howl of protest from the enemies of the people.

They can no longer assert that these are demagogic demands, and so they content themselves with declaring that "there is no money", adding that "especially is this so now, in the period of great economic and financial difficulties".

Let us see what exactly is the situation in reality.

3. THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL POSITION

Of all the big capitalist countries, France is the only one which has not up till now felt any serious livening up of economic activity. In the recent period, however, signs of a certain improvement have appeared.

Industrial production which declined by a third has since the year 1929 slightly extended. The general index (taking 100 to represent the year 1913) increased from 92, the lowest point in May, 1935, to 101 in April of the present year.

The number of registered unemployed, which in March, 1935, reached

* Demographia—the statistics of the composition and movement of the population.

the highest figure, 485,000, fell to 402,661 in June, 1935, while at the present time it is still 419,887.

A comparison between the index of production which rose by 9.7 per cent for the year, and the number of unemployed in receipt of benefit which remained practically unaltered during the whole period under review underlines the fact that the workers engaged in production are producing more, and that the intensity and productivity of labor have increased. This justifies the demands of the workers.

The figure for foreign trade, the budget receipts based on the economic activity and the indices for transport, confirm the tendency towards an improvement in the economic situation.

But the difficult financial situation may slow down and even reduce to nothing the tendencies towards the improvement in the economic situation.

In spite of the serious sacrifices wrung from the civil servants, pensioners, ex-servicemen, small bondholders, and all those in need and in poverty, the budget deficit has not been overcome. In 1934, it amounted to 8,800,000,000 francs, while in the year 1935 it was 9-10,000,000,-000 francs. Comrade Vincent Oriol, the Minister of Finances, calculates the deficit for 1936 as 7,000,000,000 francs. Such are the results of the policy of the Doumergue-Flandin and Laval government, the policy renewed by the Sarraut Cabinet.

The state debt increased from 300,000,000,000 france in December, 1933, to 319,000,000,000 francs in December, 1934, 338,000,000,000 francs in December, 1935, while at the present time it amounts to almost 350,-000,000,000 francs.

The floating debt increased from 37,000,000,000 francs in December, 1930, to 57,000,000,000 francs in December, 1935, and 66,000,000,000 francs in June, 1936

The Ministry of Finances which exhausted all legal possibilities for emissions (about 22,000,000,000 francs) fell into a critical position. The government has succeeded in securing that the obligations amounting to 13,000,000,000 francs, discounted by the Bank of France, have been declared a temporary advance by the Bank of France to the state. This has made possible a new issue of 10,000,000,000 francs, which sum is being made use of now.

Another warning symptom. The gold reserve of the Bank of France declined from 83,359,000,000 francs on December 2, 1932, and from 80,-283,000,000 francs on May 11, 1935, to 57,022,000,000 francs on May 30, 1936, and 55,521,000,000 francs on July 5.

This is the result of the deficit in the balance of payments and trade, the withdrawal of foreign capital investments hitherto placed in Paris, and especially the withdrawal of French capital, and the transfer abroad of the riches of our country by the capitalist deserters. It is the result of acts of speculation directed against the franc.

Vincent Oriol declares that the total sum of French valuables exported abroad amounts to 25,000,000,000 francs. He asserts, by the way, that between 30,000,000,000 and 40,000,000,000 francs have been withdrawn

from circulation, and hidden away inside the country. Thus, the exploiters refuse to place the sum of 60,000,000,000 francs of "free" capital at the disposal of the national economy.

It was with joy that we greeted the statement made by the Prime Minister, Leon Blum, when, at the last Socialist Party Congress, he made a clear declaration against devaluation. It was in a similar spirit that Vincent Oriol made an energetic speech from the parliamentary tribune regarding the financial position of the country.

But we wish once again to utter a warning against any open or hidden inflation, which could lead to devaluation in fact.

The issue of big sums of treasury notes and the distension of the portfolio of the Bank of France, which discounts these notes without any other backing, are all measures of an inflationist character which may lead to the devaluation of the franc.

They may lead us to the "wandering franc" desired by M. de Wendel [a leading mine owner, member of the Committee of Heavy Industry—*Ed.*] at the second stage of the capitalist offensive against the working people.

The first stage was deflation which leads to a sharp reduction in wages, salary and pensions.

Another source of disquiet is the increase in the cost of living which may reduce to nothing the wage increases received. The government has already begun the prosecution of speculators. It may count on our assistance in this struggle against the high cost of living.

As everybody knows, the big middlemen take their toll of the consumer, while the small peasant producer does not gain anything from this.

By comparison with the average figure for 1932, the price of grain in 1936 fell by 37 per cent, while flour decreased by only 29 per cent, and bread by 24 per cent. As concerns wine and meat, the difference between the fall in the prices received by the producers and those paid by the consumer is still greater.

4. THE RICH MUST PAY

The people of France have condemned the policy of deflation. They have also condemned devaluation. They have declared for the only really solution of the problem, namely to *make the rich pay.*

It is now well-known that there is money available. The sum of 60,000,000,000 francs has been withdrawn from circulation, of which 25,000,000,000 have been transferred abroad by the modern feudalists.

The former aristocracy emigrated to Coblenz. This was accompanied by an immediate risk, and the advantage of the situation was that it was clear. At the present time the capitalist reactionaries who are more cunning are compelling their capital to emigrate. This is not so clear, and the rich exploiters can hypocritically declare themselves to be the best Frenchmen and slander the workers who do not, however, withdraw the gold reserves from the Bank of France.

The emigres of the year 1793 placed their arms at the service of

the King of Prussia. The present traitors to the nation are now placing the gold of France at the service of its possible enemies. Nobody can question the importance of a gold reserve should war be forced on our people by Hitler fascism.

On our side, we demand the regular announcement of the names and positions of those who carry through operations accompanied by the transfer of gold, and, of course, it goes without saying that the character of these operations must be indicated.

We greeted the first measures of Parliament in the struggle against the concealment of capital, transferred abroad, and against any encroachment on the credit of the state.

The favorable influence of these measures immediately made themselves felt.

The rich can and must pay so as to finance the improvements required by all categories of the working people, to save the children and young people of France, to help the peasants, traders, handicraft workers and small employers, and to balance the budget.

France, unfortunately, is a country where the hiding away of property with a view to avoiding taxation has reached tremendous proportions. It is an unfortunate privilege! The reactionary bourgeoisie do not even try to cover up their impermissible behavior. In the newspapers which were the sharpest in the campaign they waged against the working people, and stood for the application of the emergency decrees which brought ruin to the people, advertisements are now being published by foreign banks and firms for the purchase of real estate, which are offering their services, assuring their clients of the complete maintenance of secrets.

The program of the People's Front provides for the establishment of a fiscal passport*, such as was adopted by Parliament several years ago.

This program contains the following point:

> "The democratic reform of the taxation system, amounting to the lightening of the burden of taxation with a view to livening up the economic situation and the establishment of resources by way of measures which affect big fortunes, the increase, in a sharp progression, of the rates of taxation on incomes in excess of 75,000 francs, the reorganization of the inheritance tax, and the taxation of the profits of virtual monopolies."

If these measures prove inadequate, our Party will simply demand the emergency taxation of big fortunes, in accordance with the proposal placed by us before the Chamber of Deputies.

It is not a question of a single tax on capital, but of an emergency levy which will be made on the richest people.

We have declared that 1,000,000 francs is the minimum of the big fortunes to be subjected to the emergency levy. The rate is established at 5 per cent on capitals ranging from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 francs, and

* A fiscal passport is a measure directed towards the defense of the franc against attempts to avoid taxation on capital and against the sending of capital abroad.

rises progressively to 25 per cent on fortunes of 50,000,000 francs and over.

The likely result of this levy will be not less than 15,000,000,000 francs. There cannot be any serious objection to the possibility of this levy once the rich people have been able in a few weeks to gather to gether tens of thousands of millions which they transferred abroad.

The exploiters are also finding the necessary sums to subsidize newspapers which influence public opinion, and which poison the atmosphere by their lies and incitement against the people and groupings in the People's Front. They are finding the money to maintain and arm the organizations which are attempting to violate the law and provoke civil war.

5. FOR ORDER, FREEDOM AND PEACE

And so, the French people are striving after order and quiet. The workers and peasants wish to work honestly, and to live well on the fruits of their labor. They offered up serious resistance to the fascist sedition-mongers on February 6, 1934. They have no desire to assist the hired bands who are a disgrace to Paris and our country.

According to the will of the people, the government has decreed the disbandment of the fascist leagues. But we would be deceiving ourselves if we were to believe that the danger has vanished. First and foremost, because fascism comes into being and develops in the conditions of the decline of capitalist society.

Further, because fascism is expressed not only in the violent and bloody action of the terrorist bands which attack the working class and democracy—it has another dangerous side. We speak of the social demagogy with the aid of which it wishes to win influence over the masses. The disappointment of the people as the result of the failure of the government to fulfil its promises will be made use of by fascism.

Finally, because the leagues which have been disbanded are openly reorganizing themselves, in spite of the law, and are assuming new names—preserving their leading centers, their newspapers, their contacts, and consequently their armed groups and their "special" armed bodies.

Fascist demonstrations such as took place on the eve of February 6 are beginning again.

The reactionaries are also attempting to reorganize their forces, with the support of people who have been driven out of our Party and thrown out of the People's Front.

An end must be put to the agitation of the insurgents, their leaders must be thrown into jail, their press closed down; they must be categorically excluded from the general amnesty which the People's Front proposes should be given to ex-servicemen, soldiers, participants in the labor movement, pacifists, and natives in the colonies. The law against incitement to murder must be applied.

While our Party is demanding the operation of measures of public safety, at the same time, however, it does not want to place those French-

men who have been misled in the same category as their leaders who are the tools of the big capitalists and at the same time agents of Hitler and Mussolini.

We stretch out a brotherly hand to the ex-servicemen who have joined the "Fiery Cross" organization, the former national volunteers, all those who have been misled by the demagogy of Count de la Rocque. What do they want? Like ourselves, they want a *united and powerful* France. Like ourselves, they want to see an end to trickery and bribery. Our mass campaigns for the unity of the French people against the 200 families who exploit and divide it, our campaigns for honesty, and order in public affairs, our proposal for the establishment of an investigation committee to examine the origin and growth of the fortunes collected by statesmen, well known for their trickery, have profoundly moved them. They have been overwhelmed at the profound unity and solidarity in the ranks of our Party, based on the understanding of great aims and the observation of the discipline necessary for public safety. The loyalty and self-sacrifice of our active Party workers, of the honest poor who cannot be bought and are not mixed up in dirty affairs of any kind, have produced a great impression upon them.

Many members of the "Fiery Cross" organization have learned to understand and respect us. Many of them in spite of the splitting instructions of Count de la Rocque have joined the C.G.T. unions. Some of them have made application to join the Communist Party.

For the sake of well-being, freedom and peace we are giving all our strength to the unification and unity of the French people. The division of the people means unlimited exploitation, the complete enslavement of the working people, economic ruin, the weakening of the country which is tempting plunder for the fascist adventurists abroad.

The unification of the people of France means bread, secured for everybody, the satisfaction of the just demands of the working people at the expense of the rich people, the widest democracy, prosperity, the strengthening of the country, and the guarantee of peace.

In just the same way we honestly hold out our hands to the Catholics—workers, office workers, handicraft workers and peasants. Our call for unity has been heard. Many Catholics are participating in the mutual aid and solidarity committees with the unemployed. The Vatican paper, the *Osservatore Romano*, which printed our statement and placard entitled "Our Reply to the Pope" noted that many Catholics are asking themselves the question "Why cannot we shake the brotherly hand held out to us by the Communists?"

Convinced Communists are determined supporters of the separation of the church from the state, but we are not sectarians, and are not supporters of intolerance. We only wish, in the persons of those who are suffering the same misery as we are, to see our brothers.

We wish to unite our people so as to maintain peace, the most valuable good of the human race.

The People's Front has decided to correct the crimes committed by Laval, whose foreign policy facilitated the war conducted by Italy

in Africa, and made possible the last act of provocation by Hitler against France and peace. Laval injured the safety of the country by risking isolating it and repelling its friends and allies.

The People's Front means peace. Our people want peace. They do not feel hatred or repulsion for any people, but Hitler's act of provocation of March 2 has disquieted them. Our Communist Party won a great electoral victory because it was able to give clear and unqualified expression to the question of the struggle for peace and against Hitler, the chief instigator of war.

We are convinced fighters for peace. We support every honest effort made in defense of peace. In particular, in complete harmony with the program of the People's Front, we support the policy of collective security and the indivisibility of peace, based on the observation of the League of Nations Treaty, and on a system of mutual assistance pacts open for all, after the example of the Franco-Soviet Pact.

We want peace without hurting the honor or self-respect of our people. We wish to come to agreement with Germany on the basis of the observance of treaties. We wish to strengthen the ties of friendship which unite the people of France and the small peoples of Central and Eastern Europe who are threatened by the Hitlerites. We wish to work in harmony with the Soviet Union, so as to organize general peace, and to prevent the horrible war which is again threatening the world, thrown into a state of alarm.

6. "ALL FOR THE PEOPLE'S FRONT—ALL THROUGH THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

The victory of the People's Front has given rise to just hopes. Never in the history of the Republic has such a numerous and compact Left majority, supported by the enthusiasm of the masses, been in the Chamber of Deputies.

The Chamber of the People's Front has set about the fulfillment of its program without any delay. The powerful majority has sanctioned the bills put forward by the government headed by Leon Blum. The Republican Senate has willingly allied itself to the cause of justice, and the strengthening of the position of the country.

All that has already been fulfilled fills us with great hopes and enables us to assert that if Parliament and the government continue along the same path, they will overcome all difficulties, and our people enjoying freedom and peace will at the same time win well-being.

The 200 families cannot allow those elected by the people to be true to their program and their obligations. And they have literally let loose a pack of their hired scribblers on the Chamber of Deputies and the government.

Of course, the fiercest attacks are directed against our Communist Party, and this does us honor.

The reactionary press is trying to give rise to alarm and panic, and is spreading the most fantastic stories about the situation in the country, and the "likely" consequences of the activity of the government and parliament. The reactionary press is speaking about revolts and the

Jacquerie* and is painting fancy pictures of the horrors before which similar inventions about the Spanish "ferocities" pale. The reactionaries are thus doing tremendous harm to the country which they are picturing abroad as the prey of disorder and anarchy.

Fortunately for the country, and unfortunately for the reactionaries and their press, the calm and common sense of the working people is reducing the civil war plans fostered by the fascist instigators to nothing. Manifestations of disorder, violence and conflicts with the police and the Mobile Guard** are being provoked by the insurgent bands who are up in arms against the laws of the republic.

The reactionary press is covering the members of the government and Parliament with gross insults. On the parliamentary tribune the fascists take the liberty of making anti-Semitic outbursts worthy of contempt.

While attempting to disintegrate the People's Front, our enemies spread about the story that the People's Front is of advantage only to us. We have already seen that the success of the People's Front in its struggle for bread, peace and freedom is of advantage to the whole of the working class and to all the working people of France.

We can add that all parties and groupings belonging to the People's Front have reaped and are still reaping the fruits of their collaboration in the common cause.

Not to speak of the united C.G.T., the prestige of which is growing uninterruptedly to the extent that its membership is growing, are not the Socialist and Radical Parties in a far better position now than they were prior to the establishment of the People's Front?

Our Party has, of course, gained advantages. But so are we all, and especially are the people gaining. It is this which is causing the reactionaries to be so furious.

In the ranks of the Radical and Socialist Parties voices are being raised of honest people who are denouncing the anti-Communist campaign as a maneuver, the purpose of which is to introduce strife and division into the People's Front.

Like the united front, the People's Front was not a Communist maneuver. The People's Front was not the fruit of narrow electoral calculations, of accidental tactics.

The French Communists, true to their doctrine, their program, and their ideals, took the line for a firm safety-bringing agreement with all the forces of democracy and peace.

We are convinced that the complete fulfilment of the program of the People's Front will enable the Republican majority in the Chamber to appear honorably before those who gave them their mandates, at the time when their deputies' mandates come to their conclusion.

We are convinced that the present government can last longer than any one of its predecessors, that it can continue in office during the whole period of the activity of the present Parliament.

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* Jacquerie—peasant revolts.

** The Mobile Guard—special gendarmes who are at the disposal of the Ministry of War.

And if this policy of the People's Front prevents the coming of fascism in France, this in our eyes will be a sufficient merit.

Such apparently was the opinion of the newspaper *Republique* when on January 9, this year, it printed the following words:

> "Future generations should be thankful to the Communist Party for the big role which it has played in establishing the People's Front."

Thanks to the People's Front the wave of fascism which was developing was driven back in France.

Thanks to the People's Front, the forces of the working class and democracy are growing.

The Communist Party has drawn up its policy, inspired entirely by the interests of our people, and drawing tremendous lessons of energy, heroism and revolutionary common sense from their glorious history, and at the same time making use of the experience of the international working class movement.

When we put forward the idea of the People's Front, there were some people who sneered at us, and accused us of being thin-skinned, for we insisted that only such economic demands as may be fulfilled within the bounds of the present regime should be included in the program of the People's Front. Comrades of the Socialist Party, for instance, wanted to include the demand for socialization within the program.

But even at that time we understood exactly what could be done in the given circumstances. While we are opposed to any sort of demagogy, and are really trying to organize the struggle of the masses with a view to achieving tangible results, both for the present and the future, we refused to sow illusions. And we were right.

What does Comrade Paul Faure think now about the People's Front, to which, according to his own words, he came not without doubts and hesitation? Has he had to "lower himself" so much by the fact that he has to fulfil, in the government, only the humble program drawn up together with all those participating in the People's Front, from the Radicals to the Communists? In November, 1934, he said the following at the National Council of the Socialist Party:

> "The agreement must take place on the basis of a program of profound reforms, which correspond not to temporary interests, but to the very doctrine of socialism."

We rejected exaggerated proposals formerly, and now we also insist on the fact that at the present stage it will be enough to fulfil the program of the People's Front. And we are convinced that all the working people who have rallied around the People's Front think the same way.

The events which have justified our policy of immediate demand have at the same time reduced to nothing all the theories of the supporters of big "plans".

The service rendered by the Communist Party consists in that it

pointed out the correct path to the working people. It succeeded in refuting the sectarian chatter of those who in December, 1934, asserted that "they do not believe in the possibility of any improvement until the capitalist system is directly attacked by the forces of revolution."

The Communist Party considered it wiser to follow the teachings of Marx when he said:

> "By cowardly giving way in their everyday conflict with capital they would certainly disqualify themselves for the initiating of any larger movement." (Marx, *Value, Price and Profit*, Section XIV.)

Thus in spite of doubts and hesitations, difficulties and obstacles, it proved to be possible, on the basis of the united proletarian front, to establish a broad People's Front which came out victorious at the last elections.

May we be allowed to say with pride that it is precisely our policy which gained the support of the masses. This is why our views are listened to at the most serious moments. Those who responded to our call on February 9 have confidence in us when we declare that "we need to know how to end a strike".

The revolutionary workers understood us when we reminded them that once their fundamental demands had been satisfied, it was necessary to renew work. We said that there was no need to risk the future of the People's Front for the sake of speeding up the successes of the workers, that we must not allow any conflicts to develop between the working class and the middle classes, especially the peasants. The whole of the People's Front must go forward. The working class must not allow themselves to be isolated and provoked into undertaking an untimely struggle.

We summed up our present policy in the formula which places definite obligations on us, namely, "All for the People's Front, all through the People's Front".

Our Communist Party will carry through the policy which has justified itself on the basis of experience, firmly and calmly, and will do all possible to fulfil the program of the People's Front so that the common cause may be crowned with success at all costs.

We did not accept the ministerial portfolios offered to us, and did not do so, first and foremost, because we did not wish to provide food for a ferocious campaign by the reactionaries. But we solemnly assured Leon Blum and our brother Socialists of our closest, loyal, and fraternal collaboration.

The working people who witnessed the birth and successes of the People's Front give us their confidence. They know that the word we have given has not been thrown by us to the wind.

7. THE COMMUNIST PARTY

It is well known that our Party had to carry on a struggle in its own ranks to pave the way for the policy which corresponds to such a degree to the present and future interests of the working class. On the

initiative of the Central Committee, the Party has fought as one man against all attempts to force it to turn away, to the Right or Left, from the path which it indicated at its congresses, the supreme organs of the Party.

So as to bring about united action and the establishment of the People's Front, we attacked sectarian narrowness, doctrinairism, the defects which hindered the mass policy of the Party. The condemnation (at first within the Party, and then publicly) of the liquidator and the renegade Doriot did not weaken the struggle against the sectarian deviation which we began with the liquidation of the Barbé-Célor* group.

The big successes of the Party, and the advance of the mass movement should draw our attention still more to "Left" exaggerations.

Lenin wrote his book *Left Wing Communism* in April-May, 1920, in the period of revolutionary upsurge.

The "Leftists" who take their wishes for reality can lead the Party to unjustified action, to untimely action.

Such precisely is the state of mind of Ferra, who never understood the united front and the People's Front, and whose adventurist views, which fundamentally are Trotskyist, were unanimously condemned at a plenary session of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission.

The great successes of the working class and our Communist Party confirm the correctness of our general line.

It is not surprising that the authority of the Party is growing, and that its influence is becoming more marked in the whole life of the country.

This is at one and the same time a great honor and a heavy responsibility. This is why we should pay still more attention to the problems of the Party.

Our Communist Party received one and a half million votes at the parliamentary elections. Up to date the Central Committee has issued 185,650 Party cards. The Y.C.L. has 63,422 members. In round figures this means that a quarter of a million men and women, young men and women, have rallied around the banner of Communism, the hope of the country.

We have passed beyond the maximum membership figure reached by the Party prior to the split at Tours. At that time a minority left the Party, when the Party at its Congress affiliated to the Third International by a majority of two-thirds.

The average circulation of *l'Humanité* for June increased to 403,483 copies. Led by our dear Comrade Marcel Cachin, *l'Humanité* is the biggest paper of the working class and the People's Front.

The circulation of the *Avangarde*, the organ of the Young Communist League, is 65,000 copies.

But in connection with the rise of the Party in the sphere of organization and Party educational work, a number of questions are arising.

* Barbe and Celor, renegades expelled from the Party.

We still suffer from numerous defects in the sphere of organizational work, from the insufficient preparation of meetings, and a lax attitude in relation to new comrades. The discussion about the new statutes, let us say in passing, will make it possible for us to cure the Party of a certain contempt for legality.

The Party educational work is also not yet sufficient. What is needed is a tremendous amount of work to train our members and our active workers ideologically and politically, beginning with the organization of talks and study circles in the lower groups, and ending in the central Party schools. We must add the theoretical knowledge which will help us to establish tested leading workers, to the loyalty to the Party of our young comrades and our old Party forces.

The electoral campaign and the struggles of the workers and peasants have shown how rich our Party is in serious and capable people who are becoming well-known and honored leaders.

Our parliamentary group splendidly reflects this general progress of our Party. The 72 deputies exert and will continue to exert ever growing influence in the Chamber of Deputies and in the country.

The decision to the effect that members of the Central Committee and parliamentary deputies must make monthly tours has been well accepted by the whole Party and the working people. The visit made through Provence was very successful and pleased everybody. The working population loudly cheers our Party at all meetings.

Our Party Conference must pay special attention to the problem of organizing women. This question is a very important one. Marx wrote the following:

> "Anybody who knows anything about history knows that great social changes are impossible without the feminine ferment. Social progress can be measured exactly by the social position of the fair sex (the ugly ones included)." (See *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann*, p. 83, letter dated Dec. 12, 1868.)

The fact that women took such an active part in the recent strikes and that they are playing an ever bigger part in political life is one of the surest signs of the rise of the mass movement.

The Party can and must double its efforts to educate and organize the women. And in this sphere we must overcome sectarian defects, especially those present among the women members of the Party.

The Y.C.L., which can be proud of its numbers, would undoubtedly rally more members if it took on the character of an organization available to all young men and women of the people. There is no need to copy the Party in its policy, slogans and methods.

On the contrary, it must, as our Party has declared, show its ability to stand on its own legs and strive to respond to the needs and requirements of the young people, and together with instructions regarding action of one kind or another, provide them with education and leisure, and organize clubs, camps, etc.

Comrades: It is our exclusive care, our law and our honor to serve the working class, to serve the cause of the people.

Our slogan is "unite".

The chief instruction of our present Party conference must be "organization". The organizational work of the Party, the organization of a wide recruitment of workers, peasants, office employees, intellectuals, young people and old, men and women; the organization of the united front, of committees of the People's Front; the organization and drawing into organizational work of ever wider masses of the people.

Comrades: Our Party united under the leadership of its Central Committee did much to bring about the victory of the People's Front. It has grown in the struggle against reaction and fascism. It has grown in the struggle for working class unity, for the People's Front, and for the unification of the French people against the 200 families.

Thanks to the exertion of our will, thanks to our work, thanks to our Bolshevik unity, the Communist Party will grow still more.

It will lead the people to a free, strong and happy France.

Urgent Questions of the People's Front in Poland

By J. LENSKI

"THE *police shoot and will continue to shoot.*"

Changes of government took place in France and Poland almost simultaneously.

In France, thanks to the victory of the People's Front, the government of the Socialist Blum came to power supported by the Communists. In Poland, the tactics of the Right leaders of the Socialist Parties and the Peasants' Party ("Stronnitswo Ludow") facilitated the advent of the government of General Slawoi-Skladkowski, who is known as the Polish "Trepow".*

Two different tactics led to directly opposite results. The common front of the working class and broad masses of the people in France struck heavy blows at fascism. But in Poland the disruption of united action by the reactionary elements in the P.P.S. (Polish Socialist Party) and the Peasants' Party made it possible for the fascists in power to intensify their oppression of the people. The victory of the People's Front in France strengthened the position of peace, while the absence of such a front in Poland permitted Beck to strengthen the alliance with the chief incendiary of war in Europe—Hitler Germany.

The people in Poland are striving with ever greater insistence to obtain political rights. The struggle for bread and work is indissolubly interwoven with the struggle for liberty. The events in Cracow and Lwow awakened a feeling of active solidarity in the ranks of the working class and laid the foundations for united mass anti-fascist action. This unity gave unusual scope to the May Day demonstrations. A manifestation of the growing political activity of the peasants was the national festival on June 1, during which millions of peasants demanded democratic elections to the Sejm, the Senate and the municipalities, as well as a full political amnesty and the breaking of the military alliance with Hitler Germany. The congress of men of culture held in Lwow showed that the best elements among the intellectuals are being drawn into the political struggle together with the proletariat.

The demonstration of 150,000 Polish peasants during the military parade in Nowoselzi was of the greatest importance. This demonstration disclosed the fact that the fascist regime has lost its foothold among the peasants. The peasants want to be full and legitimate masters of the country and not chained and fettered "rank and filers" or cannon fodder to fulfill the plans of conquest of Hitler and Beck. The resolution passed

* Trepow—Governor General of Petersburg in 1905. Out and out enemy of the revolutionary movement. Author of the famous order "Fire no blank cartridges, don't spoil bullets".

by those who took part in the peasant demonstration, and which was presented to General Ridz-Smigly, reflects the hostility to the Pilsudski policy felt by the peasants, who demand the removal of the hated rulers of the country, the restoration of political rights and an alteration of foreign policy.

The anti-fascist forces have come into motion.

In view of the growing tensity among the masses, and the disharmony in the government camp, an agreement among the anti-fascist forces *from top to bottom* would mean the beginning of the end of the fascist regime. The Skladkowski government has therefore put into operation every means of preventing the formation of a People's Front. Increased terror, demagogic promises, attempts to reach agreement with the oppositional parties, connivance at pogrom, anti-Semitism and the lying slogan of the defense of Poland—such are the chief preventative measures adopted against the People's Front.

Fascist terror is striking at the organizations and adherents of the united front. On the very day following Skladkowski's promise that the government would respect the freedom of the press, united front newspapers were closed down. Trade unions are being closed down, while the Central Commission of the Trade Unions preserves the silence of the graveyard. Strike committees, shop stewards, trade union officials and supporters of united action in workers' and peasants' organizations are being subjected to persecution day in and day out. The savage manhandling of active workers in the concentration camp of Berez Kartuss is calculated on frightening the supporters of the united front. The law courts sentence Communists to long terms of imprisonment. This is their vengeance on those who fight for the united front. "Agitation for the united front is now the chief form of Communist agitation", the attorney general openly declared during the trial of the participants in the Cracow events, which turned into an indictment of the fascist regime.

The Skladkowski government is a government of the mailed fist as regards the workers and peasants. Characteristic of the chief methods it uses in home policy are the well-known words of Skladkowski: "The police shoot and will continue to shoot". The shooting down of workers' demonstrations has become a systematic practice. After Chenstokhva, Cracow, Lwow and Chczanow came the turn of Torun, Gdinyi, Krasnastava. Skladkowski-Trepow regards the beating up and shooting down of the masses as the best means of allaying their indignation. But General Skladkowski, who stands stiffly to attention before Ridz-Smigly, the inspector general of the army, is ready to maneuver, once he is ordered to do so, and to promise the almost complete abolition of unemployment. It is impossible, however, to feed the starving masses merely on a four-year plan for the abolition of unemployment, which, even if fulfilled in its entirety, would only cover an insignificant section of the "surplus population" in the towns and villages. This plan provides for only 340,000,000 zloty in the present year, a sum which will not be sufficient to organize public works on an extensive scale. The government promises to allocate funds on a bigger scale only in the third and fourth years.

It is not clear where it will get the money to cover the promised grants.

In developing the struggle of the unemployed, the Communists demand the immediate organization of public works, and the allocation of additional credits to give help to all the unemployed. The Communist Party of Poland points to the following sources from which the expenditure could be covered: (1) the reduction of the military budget; (2) the landowners to pay up their tax arrears; (3) the 400,000,000 zloty due from Hitler for transit freight payments to be recovered. The Communists emphasize the point that a change in foreign policy, the inclusion of Poland in the peace bloc, will make it possible to reduce the military budget and increase expenditure on the organization of public works. The introduction of the 6-hour day in industry, the abolition of forced labor in the country districts would help to lessen unemployment.

The unemployed replied to the empty promises of the government by mass demonstrations, while the workers engaged on public works began to demand working conditions fit for human beings and an increase in the starvation wages they received. "After the declaration of the head of the government that it would be his main care to reduce unemployment, strikes increased on public works", wrote the semi-official *Gazeta Polska.*

The Skladkowski government, on its part, met the demands of the unemployed and the strikers by additional volleys of rifle fire. "The police shoot and will continue to shoot", repeated Skladkowski. But the rifle fire of the police no longer has such a terrifying effect on the masses as formerly. In Torun, for instance, where two people were killed and several wounded as the result of the shooting down of a demonstration there, the demonstrators, according to the newspapers, did not scatter, but raised the bodies of the dead men on their shoulders and continued the demonstration. The corpses of the dead become banners for those engaged in the struggle. Formerly, the police directed their fire mainly against workers, but now they are beginning to shoot peasants as well. The day following the peasant demonstration in Nowoselzi, the police in Przeworski County fired at striking farm laborers and peasants, killing 17 of them, whereas Trepow-Skladkowski in his report endorsed the savagery of the police. It is worthy of note that the bloody clash between the strikers and the police took place over the arrest of the strike committee, whose release was being sought by the workers, supported by the peasants. The police murdered peasants just like those who recently demonstrated in Nowoselzi before the smiling Ridz-Smigly.

The fascist press conducted a frenzied campaign against the stay-in strikes which spread all over Poland. The total number of strikers in the first quarter of this year doubled as compared with the same period last year. In the words of the *Gazeta Polska*: "April and May brought with them a further wave of serious conflicts, which took the form of stay-in strikes." The strike movement also spread to extensive sections of the agricultural proletariat.

Recently, in the first half of July, there were also big sympathetic strikes, such as the one-day strike of oil workers in sympathy with the

workers of the Len factory who had been out on strike for a month; the general sympathetic strike in the town of Pultusk in support of the workers striking on the public works, the strike of the chemical workers in Cracow in protest against the dismissal of officials of the "class" trade union, the levy of two hours' wages by the workers of Przymysl for the families of the peasants killed by the police.

The fascist press is already demanding the prohibition of stay-in strikes. The "hand-picked" Sejm is preparing to abolish all rights to strike and to replace them by compulsory arbitration. The working class is faced with a bitter struggle to preserve the most important weapon for the defense of its daily interests.

THE LYING SLOGAN OF THE DEFENSE OF POLAND AND THE REAL DEFENSE OF THE COUNTRY

The tremendously tense feeling among the people makes it difficult for the Skladkowski government to come to terms with the oppositional parties. Even those elements in the Peasants' Party ("Stronnitswo Ludow") who by tradition are linked up with the Pilsudski clique and sympathize with General Ridz-Smigly cannot make up their minds to come to an agreement without the dissolution of the "hand-picked" Sejm and without democratization—even though it be partial—of the electoral law.

The Skladkowski government has not said a word up to now about changing the electoral law. Everything remains as it was. The "hand-picked" Sejm, torn by the squabbles of its cliques, acts as a parliament. Nothing is heard from the "decisive factor", Ridz-Smigly, who has been proclaimed as the leader of the nation by the ruling fascist camp.

New elections on the basis of even a relatively democratic electoral law, where the oppositional parties are really permitted to take part in them, would disclose the bankruptcy of the Pilsudski clique. The monopoly of power possessed by the ruling Pilsudski clique for ten years would be broken—and this is what is feared by the military group and also by the "Left" Pilsudski group.

These difficulties cannot be removed by the slogan of the defense of Poland launched by General Ridz-Smigly, just as this slogan cannot remove the differences on foreign policy that exist between the ruling camp and the oppositional parties. Even the National Democrats who exalt Hitler in every way do not entirely approve the pro-Hitler policy of Beck. The danger of the seizure of Upper Silesia and Danzig by Hitler gives no peace even to the most zealous disciples of Hitlerism in the leading circles of National Democracy.

The trial of the Hitler agents in Upper Silesia aroused uneasiness not only among the National Democrats but also among the conservatives, who find it hard to close their eyes to the facts of the planned preparations by Hitler for an invasion of Upper Silesia. *Czas*, the organ of the conservatives, wrote:

> "These facts are more important that the personal attributes of the prisoners and their activity. These facts show the evil

> intentions of the Third Empire, which, according to official assurances, wants to maintain friendly relations with Poland. It should be clearly stated here that such conduct cannot be reconciled with a policy of friendship."

The conservatives do not say, of course, that it is precisely the lickspittle policy of Beck towards Hitler that increases the robber appetite of German fascism, and that the poverty of the people and national oppression make it easier for Hitler's agents to establish outposts for the seizure of Upper Silesia.

Beck's policy paves the way for the *seizure of Danzig by Hitler Germany*. With the consent of the Polish government, Hitler's henchmen have taken possession of the administrative and political apparatus of Danzig, unceremoniously trampling the constitution of the "Free City" under foot. The support given to Hitler's men by Beck is in direct conflict with the interests of the people not only in Danzig but in Poland. The very fact that the Polish government press took up an indifferent attitude towards the provocative onslaught by Greiser, Hitler's deputy in Danzig, against the League of Nations, is eloquent testimony of the vassal position of Poland. At the time when Hitler is laying his hands on Danzig, Beck turns a blind eye to the annexationist plans of his patron. Beck is selling the population of Danzig to Hitler.

It was not without good reason that, when the Danzig question was being discussed in the League of Nations, Beck did not declare his opposition in principle to the demands of Greiser, but limited himself to a gesture of sympathy towards the League of Nations Commissar in Danzig. But Greiser's demands virtually mean linking up Danzig to the Third Empire. Even the organ of the National Democrats, the *Dsennik Narodowi*, in spite of its worship of Hitler, at the beginning of June sounded the alarm with the following words:

> "We understand better than anyone in Poland that Hitler's policy towards the Jews and Communists is of general importance for the whole of Europe, but . . . we cannot sacrifice the future of Poland."

These words express the profound contradiction which exists between the fact that this paper places its stake on Hitler as the gendarme of Europe, and its desire to guard the Polish state from destruction by Hitler's hordes.

Beck tries to conceal his capitulatory attitude to the Danzig question by vague general talk about the counter demands of the Polish government. The semi-official organ of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the *Polish Political Correspondence*, advises Greiser to "consider whether it is worth while changing the Statutes of Danzig", because then the Polish government would demand additional changes.

The linking up of Danzig to Germany threatens the outlet of Poland to the sea, since Hitler's guns in Danzig can at any moment destroy the Polish port of Gdinya. History is repeating itself to some extent. The seizure of Danzig by the Prussian troops in the eighteenth century served

as the prologue to the partition of Poland. The forcible unification of Danzig to the Third Empire being prepared by Hitler opens the way to the enslavement of Poland today.

The struggle against the treacherous policy of Beck, for a free Danzig, and in defense of the Danzig constitution, is the direct duty of everyone to whom the independence of Poland is dear.

The leaders of the P.P.S. and the Peasants' Party could not take up the slogan of the "defense of Poland" in the *spirit of the policy of Beck* because the masses regard this slogan as preparation for participation in the war being instigated by Hitler. Against whom do we need to defend ourselves, ask the supporters of peace. Who is threatening Poland?

Czechoslovakia, which is much weaker than Poland, and is itself in danger of being attacked by Hitler fascism, is surely not preparing to attack Poland. Is it not also a fact that the Soviet Union, which is consistently and with all its force striving for peace, proposed and still proposes that Poland attach its signature to the mutual assistance pacts signed by the U.S.S.R., France, and Czechoslovakia? The Pilsudski clique has concluded a military alliance with Hitler Germany, while Minister Beck has become Germany's bagman, seeking allies for Hitler in the Balkan and Baltic countries. Consequently the slogan of defense is directed not against Germany, but against Czechoslovakia and against the Soviet Union.

In these conditions, every new tank and airplane in Poland will strengthen the aggressive might of Hitlerism.

The Pilsudski press is already openly advocating the return to Germany of its former colonies, foretelling the collapse of the League of Nations if Hitler's colonial appetite is not satisfied in the near future.

But the Polish people see in the strengthening of the military power of German fascism a deadly menace to their own independence. Healthy instinct tells the people that the funds spent on armaments will benefit Hitler first and foremost.

The defense of Poland's independence must be taken in hand by the anti-fascist front of the working people. Only the people, liberated from the yoke of the fascist dictatorship, will be able to find the necessary forces and heroic enthusiasm to defend the independence of their country. *Only a free Poland will be a strong Poland, capable of resisting Hitler's annexationist efforts.*

The defense of the independence of Poland is part of the defense of peace. Such must be the nature of our campaign for the maintenance of peace. We must set going a big mass movement for peace, which is threatened by Hitler and his Polish confederates.

The Pilsudski clique supports every step taken by Hitler on the road to the outbreak of war, and every attempt made to undermine collective security. The Skladkowski-Beck government orientates itself on an alliance among Germany, Japan, Italy and Poland, drawing in those British bourgeois circles which are seeking an agreement with German fascism. It is clear that neither the British nor the Italian imperialists

have any intention of protecting the Polish state if Hitler seizes the Corridor or Upper Silesia.

In the League of Nations, Beck carries out the policy of Hitler, who is directly interested in the abandonment of all sanctions against the aggressor. The *Courier Poranni*, inspired by Beck, wrote the following on the eve of the last session of the League of Nations:

> "The failure to understand the process of the rebirth of Germany, the absence of a prompt choice between Japan and China, and the fact that the Italo-Abyssinian conflict was made a question of principle—such are the causes which have brought the League of Nations face to face with the alternative of reorganization or dissolution."

In other words, the League of Nations was only of any use as long as it supported the aggressor. It is not surprising that the Polish government did not wait for the decision of the League of Nations, and was the first to stop the application of sanctions against Italy.

The Skladkowski government calculates on vacillations among the French bourgeoisie, and wants to play the role of broker between France and Germany. Hence the lying assurances of the Pilsudski press about the "inviolability" of the Franco-Polish alliance.

Beck is including Poland in the Central European bloc being formed by German fascism. In the interests of Berlin, Beck is trying to split the Little Entente, trying to break Jugoslavia away from it. He looks on unmoved at the machinations of German fascism in Austria. Whereas formerly he did not object to the seizure of Austria by Germany, hiding behind the claim that Poland was not interested in Austrian affairs, he now virtually supports Austro-German rapprochement as a step directed first and foremost against Czechoslovakia.

Beck's attitude to the Austrian question does not give rise to any disagreement in the camp of the Polish bourgeoisie. In the opinion of the National Democratic leaders the Austro-German rapprochement means that German expansion will go southeastwards, and pass by Poland.

As against Beck's policy, the anti-war front in Poland must stubbornly strive to secure the inclusion of Poland in the system of collective security along with France, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

THE FASCISTS IN POWER AND THOSE IN THE OPPOSITION ARE NOURISHED BY THE WEAKNESS OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

The slogan of the "defense" of Poland launched by General Ridz-Smigly is directed against the People's Front inside Poland. "This means not only defense against foreign enemies", declared Skladkowski in the Sejm.

The conservative organ, *Czas*, wrote:

> "The emphasis placed by General Skladkowski on home defense was necessary. Even the greatest optimist must admit that after the death of Marshal Pilsudski our state has weakened

internally. Public discipline has fallen, the administrative apparatus is becoming unstable, the authority of the government has declined and the elements of anarchy have raised their hands. And the results of this disorganization had not long to be waited for."

The slogan of the "defense" of Poland is intended to distract the attention of the people from the struggle to improve their conditions of life, and against the frightful poverty in town and country. In the opinion of General Ridz-Smigly these are secondary questions.

"For what purpose must the whole nation unite?" asked the worthy general at the Congress of Legionaires.

> "To secure a better coat on your backs, or to secure a crust of bread? . . . This cannot be the highest aim to which we who remember the conditions of our people and our government must strive. . . . Our only slogan, our moral backbone, is the slogan of the defense of Poland."

In other words, the workers, peasants and intellectuals must give up the defense of their own everyday interests.

In the language of Ridz-Smigly, the slogan of the defense of Poland means in home politics the defense of the capitalists and landlords against the ever-growing movement of the workers and peasants.

Under this slogan, the Skladkowski government wants to bring about the militarization of public life, to convert Poland into a military camp, into one big barracks under the command of the fascists in power. Making his starting point the slogan of the "defense" of Poland, Minister Ulrich is already proposing to militarize the railwaymen as "soldiers of transport", who have no right to strike.

The slogan of the "defense" of Poland is intended to consolidate the Pilsudski camp, which is torn by internal strife. The struggle between the so-called "liberals" and the advocates of an unrestrained fascist regime, between the groups of Koczialkowski and Colonel Slawek, is sharpened by the difficult economic condition of the country. No symptoms of any serious improvement are to be seen either in industry or in agriculture. The deficit in the state budget has not been wiped out. The flight of Polish currency, the flow of capital abroad and the declaration by Poland of insolvency in relation to state foreign loans testify to the difficult financial position of Poland.

In the sphere of economic policy a struggle is going on between the advocates of deflation and devaluation, which reflects the contradictions of the group interests of the bourgeoisie. A considerable section of the industrialists, who depend on foreign credits and raw materials, are against the devaluation which the Skladkowski government is in effect carrying out. They are supported by the landowners who are afraid of a rise in the price of industrial goods which widens the gap between the prices of industrial and agricultural produce. This, by the way, is the source of the opposition of the conservatives, in spite of their complete confidence in the government of the mailed fist, which is something in the nature of a coalition between the fighting Pilsudski groups. It is

with a view to consolidation that the authority of General Ridz-Smigly, who calls for unity, has been invoked.

The Pilsudski camp is rotten through and through. Degeneration has penetrated deeply into the state apparatus. Scandals affecting high "Pilsudski" officials are becoming everyday affairs. The police protect gangs of hooligans, trying with the aid of anti-Jewish pogroms to smash the unity of the fighting masses of the people.

But the rotten fascist regime can still poison Poland for years if the anti-fascist forces do not unite to overthrow it. There is no case in history where a regime departs voluntarily. The Pilsudski regime is not a corpse yet. The mass basis of the Pilsudski regime, especially its organized basis, has contracted, has partly gone to pieces, but has not ceased to exist. The authority of Ridz-Smigly may revive it for a certain time. The organizations of reservists, marksmen and legionaires, with their many thousands of members, regard Ridz-Smigly as Pilsudski's successor. Feverish work is going on to strengthen the mass basis of the Pilsudski clique, to militarize it more, so as to prepare the ground for a military dictatorship by Ridz-Smigly.

The strength of the Pilsudski clique lies in the weakness of the People's Front. This weakness makes it easier for the government to carry on its struggle against the trade unions and the anti-fascist organizations. It is this weakness which also feeds the National Democrats, who are trying to fill the fascist dictatorship in Poland with the Hitler spirit. This weakness makes it easier for the National Democratic gangsters to organize anti-Jewish pogroms. This weakness enables the young National Democratic elements to penetrate into the villages, and to mobilize the dispairing peasants.

The increase in the activity of the young National Democratic elements is accompanied by a rapprochement with those rebellious elements in the Pilsudski camp which combine the nationalism and anti-Semitism of the National Democrats with the military adventurism of the Pilsudski clique, with the ideology of a war of plunder against the Soviet Union. These elements, united around the magazine *Revolt of the Youth*, are seeking colonies for Poland . . . in the Soviet Union, and preach capitulation to German fascism.

> "Since a struggle", they declare, "between over-populated Poland and over-populated Germany is simply absurd, we must destroy Russia, deprive it of its hegemony in the East, and get the land which we need for our colonization at the expense of Russia."

It is useless for the Pilsudski clique, which has flirted all the time with these elements, to try to depict their arguments as a childish plan, as "a revolt against common sense", as an immature concoction which allegedly "does not receive the slightest support from any political group" (*Gazeta Polska*, July 8). The *Revolt of the Youth* virtually repeats the ideas which are openly developed by the older disciples of Pilsudski such as Mazkewich and the Cracow conservatives. The apple does not fall far from the apple tree. . . .

From the ranks of the *Revolt of the Youth* came Doboszinski, the hero of the armed attack on the town of Mislenitsi on the night of June 23. The events in Mislenitsi, as an attempt to draw the peasants on to the path of guerilla methods of struggle, accompanied by anti-Jewish pogroms, signify the impatience of the rebellious National Democratic youth who are trying to draw the petty-bourgeois masses with them. The events in Mislenitsi arose on the basis of an anti-Semitic pogrom campaign, encouraged by the Pilsudski clique as a kind of safety valve for revolutionary sentiments. The support of the government for this pogrom incitement is shown by the long prison sentences meted out to the victims of the pogrom in Pszitic, and the complete toleration of the National Democratic gangsters. Only the tsarist government permitted itself the use of such cynicism when it urged the Black Hundreds to their bloody work.

ALL THE ANTI-FASCIST FORCES MUST COLLABORATE

Tremendous responsibility now lies on the leaders of the P.P.S. and the Peasants' Party. Every month, every day of delay in uniting the anti-fascist forces is a success for the fascist regime.

Such a success for fascism was the refusal of the leaders of the Peasants' Party to collaborate in any way with the Left organizations of the peasants, and the sharpening of the struggle against the Communists as advocates of the idea of the People's Front. The Right-wing leaders, hiding behind the slogan of peasant unity, are trying to prevent the fighting unity of the peasants coming into being and to break down the workers' and peasants' block which is arising. Their efforts are directed towards isolating the peasants from the workers, not only from the Communists but also from the P.P.S. supporters. This was shown in some places during the popular festival, when the representatives of the workers were not allowed to speak in spite of the friendly attitude of the peasants towards them. It was shown in the estimate of the festival by the editorial board of the *Piasta*, when it wrote: "We reject any agreement with the Communists, and do not seek agreement with the Socialists, since we have our own face, our own aims and paths." Thus, according to this view, there must be no connection with the struggle of the workers but, on the contrary, propaganda of peasant isolation, which plays into the hands of the fascists, trying to get the peasants against the working class.

The Skladkowski government would like, with the aid of an agreement with the Peasants' Party, to calm down the discontent of the peasants for a certain time, to break down the fighting alliance between the working class and the peasants that is beginning to arise, so as to hurl itself with still greater fury on the proletariat, and destroy it as the leading force in the struggle of the people for freedom.

Only a solid struggle by all working people against the fascist regime, for democratic rights, for land without payment, for the 40-hour working week and for the breaking of the military alliance with Germany, can wrest concessions from the government. The political slogan of the day must be free elections to the Sejm and the municipalities on the

basis of general, equal, direct and secret suffrage, with proportional representation. The fascist electoral law must be buried. No amendments can change its reactionary character. The bloody Skladkowski government must be removed. Only a government which is trusted by the people in general, and is repsonsible to the people can rule the country. The wider the anti-fascist movement develops, the more effective will be the slogan of the Constituent Assembly.

The May resolution of the Supreme Council of the P.P.S. was an undoubted success for the Pilsudski clique. This resolution states laconically that "it is impossible to have positive cooperation with the Communists, both for ideological and practical reasons". But there is not a word as to what are the reasons for this.

Ideological disagreements? But similar disagreements exist between the Socialist and Communist Parties in other countries where the united front has come into being, is engaged in struggle and is achieving victory. It is sufficient to have common platforms of struggle for the immediate future. Ideological disagreements do not prevent the leaders of the P.P.S. from cooperating with the leaders of the Popular Party.

Membership of the Third International? Yes, our Party is proud of its membership of the International of Lenin and Stalin, whose great work has been immortalized in the victorious construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R. Our Party is also proud that the Communist International is responsible for the idea of the united front, which lays the foundation for the unity of the working class. Membership in the Third International did not prevent the Communist Party of France, for example, from coming to an agreement with the Socialists regarding the united front which obtained such great victories.

The attitude towards the independence of Poland? But the independence of their own people is just as dear to the Polish Communists as to the workers in the P.P.S. In the name of this independence our Party calls for an untiring struggle against fascism, on the result of which the very existence of Poland depends.

"Responsibility for their fate and for the fate of their country can only be undertaken by the working people of Poland", wrote Nedzialkowski in his comments on the resolution of the Supreme Council of the P.P.S. just as if this were a disputed question in the ranks of the working class. For the Communists stress at every step that the revolution in Poland is the work of the masses of the people in Poland, and that the fate of the Polish people will be decided in Poland. Revolution cannot be imported from abroad, as the Pilsudski clique and the National Democrats seem to think.

The P.P.S. workers know that the Communist Party is not a mushroom growth, that it has a history of tens of years of struggle against capitalism, that our Party is of the flesh and blood of the Polish proletariat.

The bourgeoisie of all countries, in their struggle not only against the Communists but also against the Socialists, have long since howled about "alien agents", so as to undermine the international solidarity of

the proletariat. The Polish bourgeoisie always gave the name of "foreign agents" to those who brought about a fraternal alliance between the Polish and Russian proletariat. By calling the C.P. of Poland an "alien center", the Right leaders of the P.P.S. are repeating the threadbare arguments of the fascists. This attack on the C.P.P. did not in the least protect the leaders of the P.P.S. from a similar accusation from the Pilsudski clique. The Polish bourgeoisie, to use the expression of Medzinski, one of the prominent followers of Pilsudski, "breathed a sigh of relief when the P.P.S. opposed the ventures of the People's Front". But at the same time the Pilsudski clique demand that the P.P.S. should cease to be a section of the Socialist International, that it "choose between the International and the fatherland". In other words, the P.P.S. is also regarded as an "alien" center in Poland.

Citizen Nedzialkowski well knows where to seek for alien agents closely connected with the enemies of the Polish people. The policy of alien agents is the foreign policy pursued by Beck, the struggle against which is the best defense of the independence of Poland.

The resolution of the Supreme Council of the P.P.S. speaks of practical reasons that allegedly make it impossible to collaborate with the Communists. Probably the authors of the resolution have in mind the difficulties created by the illegal position of our Party. But formalities are least important for Communists. The important thing is actual unity of action. The latest struggles of the working class give many examples of real joint action in spite of formal obstacles.

We must fight to preserve legality. If the Pilsudski clique has been compelled for a time to delay its plans for the unification of the trade unions on fascist lines and the dissolution of the oppositional parties, it is primarily because of the resistance offered by the joint front of workers and peasants. This resistance must be increased so as to prevent a new attack by the government on the trade unions, on the organizations of the Socialists and the Populists, and on the cultural, educational and humanitarian societies.

The resolution of the Supreme Council of the P.P.S. which rejects cooperation with our Party must be revised. Most of the members of the P.P.S. and the Bund are declaring in favor of the united front, the embodiment of which was the May Day festival. The pages of the *Robotnik*, the central organ of the P.P.S., do not show that the party organizations endorse the position of the Supreme Council of the P.P.S. Judging by the acts of repression inside the P.P.S., by transfers, and appointment from above of new branch officers, the chief organizations of the P.P.S. are not in agreement with the decision of the Supreme Council. They do not want to reject the outstretched hand of the Communist Party. There are also real supporters of the united front in the leading circles of the P.P.S. With all the more insistence does the Communist Party of Poland calls on the organizations and leaders of the P.P.S. to secure the revision of the decision of the Supreme Council. The fate of the People's Front in Poland is being decided. The peace and independence of the country are at stake.

Young People, Join in the Fight to Maintain Peace! *

By A. KOSAREV

COMRADES, I, the representative of the young people of the socialist state, am very glad and happy to discuss with you in a spirit of mutual understanding and esteem the question of peace, which is of like concern to all of us.

Never since 1914 has mankind been menaced by a new imperialist war conflagration to such an extent as now. War is creeping on us like a snake released by a handful of capitalists against the peoples, against the interests of the peoples themselves. Before I begin to explain the Communist point of view on peace I should like, with your permission, to point out the hotbeds of the war danger and those who are spreading it. If we are clear on this question, we will see that it is not enough to want peace, that peace must be fought for, and mere agitation and propaganda against war do not ensure the prevention of war.

Some people say "those who are stronger must rule over those who are weaker".

Unfortunately, people of a certain trend are trying all they can to extend the operation of this law of Darwin, which is quite applicable to the animal world, to the relations between nations. Not only are they trying to do this but they make this wolf law the foundation of their relations with neighboring peoples and countries. The comity of the peoples does not exist for them. They cannot even imagine a fraternal and disinterested alliance among nations.

"An alliance without war as its aim is meaningless and useless", is what they say.

The question arises automatically as to what are the aims and purposes of these people whose rejection of friendship between nations and advocacy of war have reached the extreme limit. The answer to this question does not even need thinking about. It is enough to pay careful attention to events now taking place in Europe and Asia in order to understand what those who preach national hatred, who break all treaties, and who reject non-aggression proposals are seeking for, to understand where the hotbeds of war are.

A lot of ink has been spilt on the subject of how to avoid war and how to preserve peace, and now philosophers, writers, public men and politicians are trying to solve the problem of preserving peace.

We have assembled here filled with alarm, and stirred by the question as to how we can save the young generation from physical extermina-

* Speech of representative of Soviet Youth at the Geneve Youth Congress for the Struggle for Peace, September 3, 1936.

tion and great sufferings, how we can halt the catastrophic approach of a new world war.

In spite of the fact that the peoples of all countries are still smarting from the onerous impressions of the World War of 1914, the handiwork of the imperialist bandits, millions of young people are nevertheless being schooled for war today; only with different slogans, with a different philosophy.

When we hear what the millions cry—"No more war of any kind"—we have here the memory, never to be forgotten, of the 9,000,000 killed in the last war, the groans and lamentations of 29,000,000 wounded and 5,000,000 crippled, the lives of 5,000,000 widows unbrightened by love, ruined lives of poverty and hunger, the 10,000,000 orphans who have lost the touch of a father's hand, picked up by strangers on the streets or rescued from the debris and conflagrations of war.

We, the young generation of the twentieth century, a generation which could be happy, which could enjoy all the boons and treasures created by the centuries, we are in a better position than any other preceding generation to create, invent, and scale new pinnacles of science and technology, and to raise mankind of the present and the future to the highest level. But we know by the experience of the past that war has not made a single country or a single people happy, that it was nothing but barbarous destruction and the extermination of human life. War has made ashes of hundreds of cities, hundreds of thousands of factories and other economic units, monuments of art and culture. For what, and for whom was it done? To enrich still further a small group of exploiters. War brought great poverty and misfortunes to the peoples.

We are firmly convinced that it not only the youth and the peoples of the U.S.S.R. who do not want war. War is not wanted by the peoples of all the countries of the world, for war means destruction, death, poverty, misfortune for millions and riches for only a small, insignificant group of bankers.

And we from the rostrum of the World Youth Congress in all sincerity and fervor make the call to the young people of all countries, of all organizations, of all races to join hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder, indefatigably to strengthen peace whatever the difficulties! Let us prevent the destructive forces of war winning the day!

We represent equality between all peoples.

We, who come as emissaries from the millions of young people in the Soviet Union, are called upon from the tribune of the World Youth Congress to announce to all the world that Communism has been fighting and is still fighting for equality between all peoples, for the right of every people to peaceful, independent and creative development.

We Communists say, in the words of Marx:

"The nation that oppresses other nations cannot be free."

In the fight for the rights of man, irrespective of nation and color, there was a great shedding of the blood of the best sons of the people before the truth triumphed over one-sixth of the world's surface—in the U.S.S.R.

We Communists declare the rights of every nation, of every people to self-determination, to free, independent existence and to the development of its own culture. In the Soviet Union the great principles of equality and fraternity between peoples have been put into practice.

You all know of the draft of the new Constitution of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., which was drawn up by the greatest man of our era—the far-seeing teacher and the best friend of the peoples, Stalin.

And yet it is not long ago, only nineteen years, that you could have found in our country what you will find in the majority of capitalist countries today; tsarist Russia was the prison of the peoples.

The peoples of old tsarist Russia bent the knee, oppressed by national inequality. The lash of the tsarist jailers cracked about their heads for centuries.

For centuries they were bound in the chains of national slavery. For centuries groans and tears were the only "music" that came from the despair of the millions.

In the gloomy era of tsarism, it was driven into the Russian people, just as it is today in certain countries, that tsarism had been given the right from above to dominate and oppress other nations, and a spirit of criminal jingoism and hatred for the people of other countries was fostered.

The tsar's gendarmes put into execution the will of their masters, the landowners and capitalists, and set the peoples one against the other, and made carnage and pogroms into a system.

In tsarist Russia many nations were deprived of the right to speak, read and write in their own native language. Even the 35,000,000 Ukrainian people were deprived of this natural human right.

The hotbed of national oppression such as old tsarist Russia was has been transformed into a great union of peoples.

Russians, Ukrainians, Bashkirians, and White Russians, Gruzians (Georgians), Armenians and Dagestanians, Tatars and Kirghizians, have all united voluntarily in a fraternal union of peoples.

Today the whole world sees what a bountiful harvest is shooting up from the soil of fraternity and unity among the peoples inhabiting the boundless expanses of the Soviet Union.

The former colonies of tsarist Russia, which have today become free, are becoming regions of ever growing prosperity, where life is blooming ever more colorfully, brighter and fully with every day that passes. Today in the schools of the Soviet Union teaching is carried on in 70 languages, books are published in 90 languages and newspapers in 82 languages.

In the republics of the national minorities national culture is growing by leaps and bounds.

On the soil of the Soviet Ukrainian Republic giants of industry are being built, such as the Kharkov Tractor and Turbogenerator Works, the Krematorsk Machine Building Plant, and the Lugansk Locomotive Works. One hundred and sixty thousand young people of the Ukraine are studying in institutes of higher education. Newspapers issued in the

Ukraine have a gross circulation of 6,000,000. In the Soviet Republics of Central Asia local industry has developed employing 300,000 workers. Before the revolution there were not more than 800 plows being used on the fields of Turkestan. Today these fields are being turned over by 500,000 plows and 15,000 tractors.

Friends! Look at the Armenian people. For centuries they groaned under the yoke of the Persian shahs, Turkish sultans, and Russian tsars, and colonized Armenia, from a country full of riches, became poverty-stricken. The Armenian people with its ancient culture was driven to the depths of despair.

Socialism has made of the Armenian people a prospering people, and of the Armenian Soviet Republic the gem of the Soviet Socialist Republic.

With these great historical examples, the peoples of the Soviet Union and we Communists show the whole of humanity that there are no "inferior races", that all peoples and nations are equal. They have an equal right to life, they are all possessed of inexhaustible sources of creative energy and talent. In some countries national dissension is encouraged, but in the U.S.S.R. people are jailed for this sort of thing.

In the Soviet Union this has already been put into effect and written down in the draft of the Constitution.

Article 123 of the draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R. declares:

> "The equality of the rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an immutable law.
>
> "Any direct or indirect restriction of these rights, or, conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law."

Friends! We are gathered here to discuss a problem which is of the utmost concern to all of us, how to prevent war and defend peace.

We will not achieve this if we do not bar the way to the hearts of the youth for those who, by preaching inequality of peoples, and inciting the young people of one country against the young people of another country under the camouflage of pseudo-scientific racial theories, are corrupting the young generation.

The kindling of national enmity is a disgrace against which the best minds of humanity have always protested. Today, however, certain prominent individuals have taken to praising this disgrace to the skies, and have begun to shake the foundations of peace.

What is most grievous and lamentable about this is that the virus of chauvinism, racial hatred and misanthropy is poisoning millions of human souls and minds.

The ideologists who are drumming pseudo-scientific racial theories about "racial purity" into the minds of the youth stop at nothing to

justify their criminal plans and exploits. They distort and slander the history of humanity.

They say: "The history of the past and the present means the struggle of blood against blood, race against race, nation against nation."

We say no. It was not like that in the past, and future history will not be like that.

We as internationalists do not deny the interests of nations. On the contrary, we respect these interests and defend the freedom and prosperity of every people irrespective of color and race.

We representatives of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. appeal to the young Frenchmen, Germans, Chinese, Negroes, Czechoslovakians, Englishmen, and Americans assembled here, and call upon them boldly to raise the banner of struggle against those who are driving millions of people into the abyss of barbarism, misanthropy and fratricidal war, and we will raise this banner proudly on high; peace and equality means friendship of the peoples.

War is the ruin of culture.

Young emissaries of peace! Human society follows indefatigably the path of progress. We are happy to live in the age of electricity, wireless telegraphy, television and the might of technology which have connected the most remote continents and created conditions for more intimate relations and connections between man and man.

Every nation has made its contribution to the age-old development of culture. Poetry, music, sculpture, painting, and technical inventions draw men of different nations closer together and promote their cultural development. They are the treasury of all people. Giants of human thought like Fulton, Stephenson, Edison, Mendeleyev, Shakespeare, Voltaire, Goethe, Heine, Schiller, Beethoven, Raphael, Rembrandt, Romain Rolland, Wells, Barbusse, Repin, Pushkin, Tolstoy, Gorky, Karpinsky and many, many others are equally dear to all peoples, are equally respected by all progressive humanity.

In our country the banner of culture and technology is raised on high. The land of socialism, which cherishes the best minds of humanity as something sacred, is utilizing culture and technology for the building of a happy life for all the peoples of the great Soviet Union.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, led by the great party of Lenin and Stalin, are now solving a historic problem which cannot fail to stir the advanced people of mankind.

You know that in our country socialism has triumphed finally and irrevocably. We are seeking to reach a still higher stage of development—communism.

In our country the mighty Stakhanov movement, which is destined to make a revolution in industry, is developing. This movement provides the elements of that cultural and technical advance of the working class which will raise the worker to the level of engineers and technical experts, and which as a result of its development will abolish the contrast between mental and physical labor.

If you make an objective inquiry into the meaning of the ideas which are being applied practically by the peoples of the Soviet Union, you will clearly understand the aims toward which we have been straining every nerve and sinew in spite of privations and difficulties, and that we are confidently proceeding along the Communist road.

The Soviet Union no longer ago than 1928 occupied fifth place in world industrial output and fourth place in Europe.

> "In 1936 the U.S.S.R. will occupy first place in Europe, overtaking the highest pre-crisis level of production reached in 1929 by the capitalist countries, in all decisive branches of industry, such as in electric power generation, oil production, iron ore, manganese ore, pig iron, steel and electro-steel production, the production of rolled stock, superphosphate, motor lorries, tractors, combine, harvesters, agricultural machines, locomotives, railway wagons, lathes, footwear, sugar, soap, and in the consumption of cotton." (Symposium, *The National Economic Plan for 1936.*)

In the U.S.S.R. expenditure on social insurance increased from 1,050,000,000 rubles in 1928 to 8,000,000,000 rubles in 1936.

The way young people are coming to the fore in the public and cultural life of the country is something astounding. It will suffice to point out that in our country the youth, not counting children, account for 37,500,000 of the population. The young people of the Soviet Union smelt steel and mine coal, exploit gold workings and are conquering the Arctic; they are building underground railways, factories, new cities, and bringing the riches of Sakhalin within human control; they bring lumber from the camps and pick cotton, develop transport and make scientific discoveries.

In the Land of the Soviets there is no unemployment and labor has become something entirely different. The development of technology and the absence of exploitation in our country have made it possible to introduce the six and seven-hour working day into the factories. Three hundred years ago Campanello wrote his remarkable utopian, *The City of the Sun.* In this city, where labor was everybody's obligation, a short working day was established and "the rest of the time was spent in pleasant occupations with science, in conversation, reading, story-telling, letter-writing, walking out, and the development of the mental and physical faculties". This is what Campanella wrote. There was never such a city in existence. Now there is not only a city but the great and mighty land of the sun—the Soviet Union.

It is easy to understand, then, that for the 7,000,000 young workers of the U.S.S.R. occupied in mills and factories labor is not a burden but a "matter of honor, valor and heroism". The people most popular in our country are young lads and lassies like Stakhanov, Krivonoss, Demchenko, Angelina and others whose brilliant work is an example of how to make better use of technology so that life can become better, easier and happier.

Our young people have never known the terrible experiences of the workless young men and women in all other countries.

We are proud that we are the representatives of a country where the government guarantees all who desire to work the opportunity to exercise their right to labor.

Each citizen of the socialist country works and creates. His personal needs increase, and with them the desire to know more about the treasuries of human culture. Each member of our socialist society has full rights to leisure. He does not fear old age, because the state guarantees him the means of subsistence. All this is set forth in the draft of our Constitution, that superb document where all the dreams of the best minds of humanity have been made incarnate.

The fundamental law of our country—the Constitution—guarantees the right to education to every citizen of the U.S.S.R. Our great teacher V. I. Lenin said in an address to the young generation:

> "You can only become a Communist when you endow your memory with a knowledge of all the treasures which have been created by humanity."

In our country it would be difficult to find a young man or young woman anywhere who has not been to school; 31,519,000 citizens of our country, including 25,515,000 children, are attending general education and occupational schools. Is there any need to mention here that this represents 384 per cent of the number of persons occupied in study in 1914? In our institutes of higher education there are 522,400 students, and in the technical schools more than 705,000. In mentioning these figures we do not want to say thereby that in other countries young people have no thirst for knowledge. No, we only want to show in what sort of conditions the young Soviet people live and what has been achieved by the peoples of the U.S.S.R. under conditions of peaceful, socialist labor.

Thousands of new schools and university buildings, increases in salary for teachers and professors, stipends for students, increase in expenditure on popular education from 182,000,000 rubles in 1913 to 8,310,000,000 rubles in 1935—all this is a guarantee that every girl and boy in our country can reap the benefit of the right to education.

Friends! I should like to draw your attention to the fact that in our country the situation of the brain worker has completely changed.

It is a well known fact far beyond the bounds of our country that we have yet to meet a case in our country where a young man with a diploma cannot get a job.

In our country the intelligentsia are spared the terrible necessity of selling their knowledge to people who become rich by using it. We understand the spiritual suffering of a very large number of intellectuals who as a result of material conditions cannot give their experience and knowledge to their people, and in this way become isolated from the people.

Our Soviet intelligentsia serve only the people, are part of the

people and are creating a happy life alongside of the people.

Is it surprising after this that we are the most fervent adherents of peace?

When we speak of defending peace, we do not forget for a single moment the half of the human race composed of girls and women.

We are always ready to champion freedom and liberty for all, but can there be freedom and liberty where a distinction is made between the rights of men and the rights of women?

Yet it is a regrettable fact that with the exception of the Land of the Soviets there is not a single country, not even the most advanced, where women are on an equal footing with men.

We are happy to say that this question is no longer on the order of the day in our country, and there is no part of our life where the slightest relic of this inequality has survived.

We are proud of our girl parachutists and pilots, women scientists and specialists, collective farmers and actors, working women.

We surround with love and care the woman who as a mother is bringing up a new generation of people who will meet nothing but happiness in life.

In our country a new man is growing up, a new man who is being brought up in an environment of peace, a man with a bright present and a joyful future.

He is a person physically fit and with an all-round development, with a wide circle of interests in life and demands on it; he is a person with great creative potentialities, with lofty flights of creative achievement.

He is a person with a high level of culture, one who not only makes demands on culture, but who creates it.

He is a person who is abolishing the contrast between mental and manual labor.

He is a fighter for a peaceful and happy life throughout the world.

Like the young people of all countries, our young people dream of heroism and of helping their brothers, and they storm the heights of the heavens, make parachute jumps, fly in gliders, and are storming the heights of science. Our young people, who are ready to sacrifice themselves in the defense of our beautiful fatherland, are doing all this for the sake of peace. These new people who have been brought up in the spirit of love for work, culture, and science do not want war. The young people of the Soviet Union extend a fraternal hand to you—the young people of all lands, of all organizations, irrespective of political conviction, to be with you all in the struggle for peace.

It is with regret which is shared by millions of young men and girls of all countries that we must point out that in some countries the dominant parties, ideologists and leading politicians are seeking to subordinate culture, science and technology to the aims of preparing a new world war. When on May 10, 1933, in the center of Europe, to the accompaniment of frantic cries from people who declared themselves the vehicles of "true culture", the works of the best minds of humanity were

cast onto the bonfires, the whole civilized world shuddered with revulsion and felt that in a highly cultured country which had given humanity great writers, poets, philosophers and thinkers, a war had begun against culture. And we ask ourselves, in what lies the reason for these phenomena?

What is the new culture which must grow up in place of the bonfires of May 10 and the vacant chairs of universities? After a close study of materials available, we arrive at the firm conclusion that some ideologists of aggression are putting culture at the service of war. Everything by which technology and culture promotes this aim is put on one side and developed; everything else is thrown overboard.

When we hear from these ideologists of aggression that factories are very busy we know that they mean armament factories. Inventors, technicians and engineers are hard at work and maybe have something to show for it. But why is it that the population does not feel that their inventions and technical novelties have made life easier for the people? Are these inventions kept strictly secret because they are designed not for the improvement of human life but for its extermination?

It only needs a careful perusal of one of the statements made by prominent education officials of one of the empires to see that the chief aim of education is the training of the soldier. This applies to any branch of social life, including the school. When we read in an article by one general: "For the teacher it must be a matter of honor that his good pupil should become ardent soldiers", then we find nothing striking in the call of the same general to study arithmetic from horseshoe nails and physics from tanks.

Others assert that the great ambition to be a hero can only be realized on the field of battle, and they inculcate the morality of bestial extermination of some men by other men.

If we were for a minute to suppose that the ideologists of aggression both in Central Europe and Asia were to succeed in bringing up their young generation in this spirit, and to inculcate the "culture" of war in other countries by force of arms, we would be faced with a gloomy, terrible picture. This would be a picture of the destruction of all the cultural values created by humanity in the course of centuries, a picture of a return to barbarism and the Middle Ages.

We appeal to you, young people who are striving for peace, and particularly to the young students, because the students are the future vehicles of culture to the heart of the masses of the people, because the students are burning with indignation against those who honor war and destroy culture.

Let us unite our forces for the fight for real culture, for culture which belongs to the people, for culture and peace.

Let us unite our forces for the struggle against the barbarians who seek to resurrect the gloomy times of the Middle Ages.

We do not want war, because we love life!

We, the young generation, want to utilize all the wealth which has been accumulated by mankind.

That is why we, the adherents of peace, are the enemies of anyone who wants to use culture, science and technology in order to exterminate us.

Peace is possible and we will defend it.

The main question which agitates all of us, delegates to the Congress, and those whom we represent, is whether it is possible to preserve and defend peace. Our reply to the youth of all countries is: yes, it is possible in spite of the fact that we see the roots of war in capitalism.

Friends! We know that there are two camps in existence, the camp of peace and the camp of war.

Before the eyes of humanity two forces are being consolidated, the force of war and the force of peace. The hotbeds of war are known. What are the forces of peace that stand in opposition to the insidious camp of war? I will permit myself first of all to name the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. You know that the preservation of peace at the present time is the desire of mankind, and we, representatives of the Soviet youth, are happy to be able to state from the tribune of this Congress that the great Land of Soviets and our government have written the word "peace" on their banner—and are defending this idea of mankind with all available resources. The outstanding role of the Soviet state in the struggle to preserve peace between peoples and to bridle the aggressors is well known.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics made proposals to the governments and peoples of all countries which, if immediately operated, would save humanity for many decades from the catastrophe of war. Who of you has not heard of the proposal of the Soviet government for general and complete disarmament, so vigorously sponsored at one time by Litvinov, who did not receive the necessary support from the governments of othes states? The government of my country has proposed perpetual peace to all peoples, in the form of the conclusion of non-aggression pacts with neighboring countries in the West and in the East.

To Soviet diplomacy belongs the notable initiative of defining the aggressor, an initiative approved by many states.

Who does not know and has never heard the well-known proposal made by the Soviet government about the establishment of a durable system of collective security, or the proposal about the conclusion of pacts of mutual assistance as already concluded among the U.S.S.R., France and Czechoslovakia? Is it not a fact that the peoples and the young people of these countries have, after the conclusion of these pacts, felt more confidence in their security, and that the would-be aggressors have felt new obstacles and difficulties in the way of the fulfillment of their military adventurist plans? I think that the friends representing here the youth of France and Czechoslovakia will confirm my statement.

Are the measures of security recommended by the Soviet government acceptable to all people, to all young people? I think that they are acceptable and that you share this opinion with me to the full.

The Soviet government is carrying on a consistent policy of peace

because the proletariat of one-sixth of the world has destroyed all the causes making for imperialist war.

In the U.S.S.R. there are no capitalists, no exploiters and no conditions for the exploitation of man by man. There are no financial magnates to gain monstrous profits from armament orders and war.

In the Soviet Union there is no lack of markets for goods, there is no need to chase after them. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which represents the vital interests of the population of the great Land of Soviets, is not threatened by danger from within. It has no need to seek salvation in wars.

The might of the Soviet Union and the well-being of the people are growing not by enslaving other peoples but by means of peaceful, socialist labor.

For us the preservation of peace and the prevention of war are inseparable from our fundamental principles.We are sure, and we assure the whole world of our deepest conviction that the preservation of peace is possible and that given definite conditions in general the prevention of war is possible and is practicable. On the basis of this conviction we are taking our stand together with millions of young men and women of all countries for the struggle for the greatest and justest cause—the cause of peace. We realize very clearly that the struggle between two diamentrically opposed forces, between the force of peace and the force of war, will be of an extremely tense character.

We, the Soviet youth, rejoice in the fact that our people and our fatherland—the Land of the Soviets—are today a mighty bulwark for peace! We are sure that the millions of young men and women of all countries who are thirsting for peace share our feelings and, all the more so, the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union.

My friends, besides the Soviet Union we have other outstanding peace factors. We can sincerely congratulate the people of France and the young people there who are manfully and jealously defending the cause of peace. Think deeply, friends, into the incidents now taking place in Spain which have stirred the peoples of all countries to the very depths. At present it is difficult fully to appreciate what I would call the world significance of these events as far as concerns the fate of peace. The self-sacrificing struggle of the people and the youth of Spain is at the same time a struggle in defense of peace against war on a scale and dimension hitherto unprecedented.

I have mentioned to you the forces of peace which stand opposed to the forces of war. Among these forces we must first and foremost give place to the international working class, which is acting for the benefit of the consolidation of peace. There is no doubt that all the democratic and progressive forces interested in strengthening the camp of peace are acting on the side of the adherents of peace.

When we speak of the forces of peace not only do we not forget but we strive to emphasize the role and significance of the League of Nations, which in spite of certain weaknesses and shortcomings, plays a recognized role as a factor of peace.

The idea of defending peace is finding millions of new supporters among the masses of the people in each country. This is borne out by the widely developing movement for peace, against war, at the head of which we find outstanding men like Romain Rolland, Prof. Langevin, Lord Cecil, Andre Malreaux and others. We accord them our hearty gratitute.

However, it must not be forgotten, dear friends, that the camp of peace would look immeasurably more mighty and strong if the united forces of the youth acted constantly and actively on its side.

I am of the opinion that one of the decisive forces able to prevent war is the young people. We do not yet fully understand how great is the role of the youth, their importance in the matter of defending peace, whereas the enemies of peace, various adventurist groups and parties of war in the various countries, understand all too well the task of winning over the young people.

Dear friends! We all feel and admit that the catastrophe of war is approaching. A feeling of alarm for their fate, for their present and future, has taken full possession of the hearts of hundreds of thousands and millions of young people all over the world. They ask themselves whether it can be that we are condemned to fight on the battlefield for the sake of the interests of a bunch of fat magnates. We reply to the young men and women throughout the world: yes, this can happen, but in your will, in your strength lies the possibility of avoiding this fate and of preventing war. You ask us what must be done to this end? We reply that what is needed is that the young workers, office employees, scholars and students, unemployed, peasants, all young men and women, all the youth, and all their organizations irrespective of political convictions and religious beliefs should unite their scattered forces into a mighty fortress in each country and on the international arena.

Is such a mighty combination, unprecedented in dimensions, of all the forces of the youth irrespective of their political, religious and philosophical convictions possible? Yes, quite possible. Why? Because all young people are united by common interests. What are these interests? They are the striving for peace, for a happy life, their own family, for labor, for culture and science.

Do not all young people want the right to have a profession, work and bread? Do not we all want to save our people, our near ones and dear ones from the horrors of a war conflagration? Do we not all want to create our own family hearth and preserve it from destruction? Do we not all want to win the treasures of culture, and to master science, using it for the sake of human progress?

Do we not all of us alike see the well-being of peoples in their creative labor, in the development of their culture and technology? All of us do, of course. And this is what unites us all.

I will speak more clearly: today all young people are united by the struggle to preserve their lives, their own existence. When the bombing planes of the aggressor appear over peaceful towns, young Catholics, Socialists, republicans, democrats, Christians, Communists, etc., will

equally experience the greatest suffering and torment. Destructive bombs and poison gases will be equally fatal for the young people of all political views and religious beliefs.

My friends! Young men and women of all countries throughout the world, let us in the face of this terrible danger muster our forces and unite them in the fight for peace! Today there is no more noble, no higher ideal than to serve the cause of peace, the cause of the safety of the people. That is why I think that we young emissaries of peace at this Congress and the tens of millions of young men and women who have sent us here must solemnly promise, must pledge that we will be true and constant, with all the belief and passion inherent in young people, to serve this cause.

Nothing can and nothing must prevent the collaboration and unification of the forces of the young people, of all their organizations for the triumph of the cause of peace. Collaboration among and unity of action by all young people represent a formidable force against the enemies of peace. If we achieve general collaboration among all young people, the peace front will become impregnable, and the danger of war will be weakened and made more remote.

If consideration is taken of the arguments I have used here then we must regard as one of the main tasks of our Congress that it should exert its influence to overcome the scattered nature of the forces of the youth, and that it should call them to constant collaboration in the interests of peace. We know that the young people of many countries are already doing something in this direction. We are encouraged by the fact that the youth movement for peace is undergoing a wide development in France, England, America and particularly in such countries as Czechoslovakia, Belgium and Austria which war threatens with the loss of their independence.

We must, however, clearly see the weaknesses of our movement. The main weakness, I repeat again and again, I see in the way the forces of the youth are scattered. We are all in some measure responsible for this. But evidently there are some people in the youth movement who bear the larger part of this responsibility. I do not think, friends, that I will have anything to apologize for if I take the liberty of expressing my thoughts and arguments in a very open form on a question which is equally troubling us all. If I will have to say a few words that are not entirely flattering to certain leaders of the youth, I ask you in advance to excuse me.

It is well known that certain leaders of the Socialist youth organizations, which have influence over the youth, have boycotted the present World Congress, their explanation being that they do not want to meet the representatives of reactionary youth organizations. This seems to us very strange and hard to understand. I am a Communist, which means that I am a proletarian revolutionary, but I admit that I do not at all understand such revolutionariness on the part of these people.

We, for example, are indubitably in favor of the German youth participating in the work of the Congress. We respect the working youth

of Germany, and know that they are also vitally interested in peace, just as the young people of other countries are. Our opinion is that the German youth should not only have occupied a place among the delegates of the Congress, but should also have played their part in the formation of the world front of the youth in the fight against the ideologists of war, and for the preservation of peace. I do not think that the leaders of the Socialist youth organizations, by giving their organizations the signal to boycott the World Congress, have thereby done any sort of service to the cause of consolidating the forces of the youth in the interests of peace. Let us hope that there has been a misunderstanding which should not be repeated.

Friends! I will also not conceal the feeling of sincere regret which has been aroused among the adherents of peace by the fact of certain Catholic youth organizations having been forbidden to take part in the present Congress. Whatever the arguments and explanations given to justify these facts by the particular leaders and bodies, yet it cannot be said that this was the best method of expressing their peaceful intentions and strivings. It is possible, I will grant, that attempts were made to explain away this ban by the fact of the participation of the Communists in the work of the Congress, by the argument that the Communists are allegedly the enemies of religion and are waging war against it.

I will take the liberty to hold your attention on this question. You must know that Communists have their point of view on questions of religion. The attitude of Communists to religion has been expounded in the works of the founders of Marxism, in the works of Marx and Engels and those master minds, their successors Lenin and Stalin, with the greatest clarity. I have a splendid opportunity, by using examples from my country and from the life of my people, of showing you what in actual fact is the attitude of Communists to religion. It is well known that all the enemies of the Soviet Union very often in the struggle against it resort to the circulation of the most absurd and monstrous rumors about the persecution that allegedly exists in the U.S.S.R. Our enemies make wide use of this poisoned weapon of falsehood with a view to preparing for war against the only socialist state in the world.

I consider it a duty of honor and conscience, in the interests of the truth, in the interests of the peoples and the youth of my country and other countries, to scatter and refute all these wild and stupid inventions.

The Communists and all those in our country who have freed themselves from religious beliefs take up a respectful attitude to the religious feeling of believers, and no one can and no one dares offend them. The greatest genius of humanity, Vladimir Lenin, taught us:

> "Everyone must have complete freedom not only to hold any belief whatsoever, but to spread any belief and change his belief.
>
> "No official must even have the right to ask anybody whatsoever about his belief: this is a matter of conscience, and no one will dare interfere with it."

We follow this principle of Lenin. In our country there is full freedom of religion, full freedom of conscience.

Yes, we Communists are atheists. We set ourselves the task of explaining our views attentively and tactfully. It is natural that the great rise of culture and progress in our country is conducive to the liberation of many people from religious influence.

We Communists know and do not conceal the fact that in many countries there is freedom only for that religion and that creed which serves the interests of the capitalists there. We Communists are open opponents of any limitation, oppression and persecution whatsoever of any belief and religion. It is said that Catholics and Communists are enemies. I declare that we do not see enemies in them, that there are no foundations whatsoever for mutual mistrust, let alone mutual hatred. We, the Communist youth, are today being drawn nearer to the Catholic youth by common interests. These interests are the striving for peace and the defense of the freedom of conscience. We can and we must collaborate for the sake of the great ideal of preserving peace between nations, in a friendly atmosphere.

Dear friends! The dark forces, the military adventurist parties and groupings, which are secretly preparing for war, cannot have any support among the young generation, for they are preparing destruction and suffering for the latter. The young people are seeking peace, but by itself a real desire for peace is not enough. We must defend it and fight for it.

There is no question that the calling of the present peace congress of youth in defense of peace is a great step forward on the road of the fight for peace. But this is only a beginning. There is a tremendous amount of work waiting for us. We must solemnly declare 1937 to be a year of peace, a year of strenuous, unremitting, and ever increasing activity of the young people, whose creative forces and energy will be given up to the service of the interests of peoples of all countries. In all countries throughout the world, all the young people must develop activity and carry through their own congresses of great friendship and sacred unification among the youth of all nationalities, races, and political convictions to demonstrate their unbending will to defend peace with all their strength, with all their resources. Everywhere, in all towns, large and small, the youth must organize peace committees, to be in constant action and organize the supporters of peace.

Throughout the whole of this year committees of the youth must organize constant explanatory work among the millions of the youth on the very largest scale. Wherever there are young people there must be active youth clubs and peace groups. Every adolescent, every young person should find in these clubs and groups answers to his questions as to what can and what must be done for the cause of peace, should be able to receive replies to the question as to who is the aggressor, which groups and parties are preparing war, and who is the standard bearer of war in the given country. We are in duty bound to surround the names of great men and people active in the cause of peace with love and

glory. At the same time we must surround with the hatred and contempt of the youth those people who are seeking for military adventures, and who are kindling jingoistic and nationalist feelings among the youth.

We must breed in the youth a feeling of fraternal solidarity towards the nation suffering from aggression, and give it effective aid. The influence and prestige of the organized youth must be used in the interests of defending all the peace proposals and plans of the various states, which are directed towards a struggle against the aggressor and towards the consolidation of peace.

My friends! We are dedicating ourselves to the struggle for the highest and noblest ideals of mankind. Decades will pass and the succeeding generations will call to mind with pride and love the self-sacrificing work which we are all doing today, when bending our forces for the struggle against the catastrophe of a new war. We, the young people of the Soviet Union, love life, we are living a joyful life, and are carrying on creative work for the sake of the whole of mankind. For us it is not gold that is the ideal, but man himself. In the name of the suffering of the past, and for the sake of the present and the future of mankind, we declare that peace must and can be preserved.

In the name of the free and valiant millions of young people of the great socialist state, I promise you that we will do everything jointly with you, to save humanity from the misfortunes of war and to preserve peace!

What Is Happening in Spain? *

By DOLORES IBARRURI (PASIONARIA)

SINCE their counter-revolutionary movement is coming to an end, the traitors to the republic, in helpless rage and despair, are turning their attention abroad. They are spreading the stupid slanders they have invented to raise the alarm in other countries and, through the reactionary elements there, to sow discontent in the hope of arousing various governments to undertake armed intervention against our country. The fact that the Communist Party is in the vanguard, defending the liberties of the people, the republic and the government brought into being by the People's Front, is an excuse for them to spread abroad the story that communism is being planted in Spain and that our country is wallowing in the convulsions of anarchy and has been seized by a catastrophe.

What is happening in Spain? We want to tell the whole world about this. We want to speak out loudly about this so as to shatter the foul maneuvers of the reactionaries and traitors who have betrayed their native land and its banner.

In 1933 the Rights were victorious in our country. The policy of incompetence, misanthropy, bloody repression and crime led the people in horror and indignation to rise up against the forces of reaction. On February 16, 1936, the masses of the people demonstrated with all their strength, their belief in democracy, and enthusiasm for their republic, and ensured the victory of the people's bloc, consisting of all the Left Parties, of all those who really love their people, and are striving to establish a great and happy Spain, a land of peace and labor.

But the victors of 1933 cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that they were beaten in February, 1936. They have violated their oath and their promise to adhere to the regime established by the will of the people themselves, and have taken up arms against the republic with the intention of drowning in blood the movement of the people which wants nothing other than a life based on liberty and justice.

The struggle which is now developing in our country is a struggle of democratic Spain, of the front of Liberals and Republican forces, against the reactionary and fascist forces which want to establish a regime of terror and bloody violence in our country by treacherously seeking aid from abroad.

Aware of its historic responsibility, the Communist Party is prepared to give up everything for the defense of the republic, for the defense of democracy, for the defense of liberty, won in bloody struggles against reaction. Reaction was the ulcer in our country which held back

* We print herewith a declaration made over the radio on July 29, 1936, in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, by Comrade Dolores (Pasionaria).

the cultural and industrial development of Spain, as a result of which Spain dragged at the tail of other countries.

The bourgeois-democratic revolution which took place in *other countries* such as France more than 100 years ago is taking place in our country only now, and we Communists are the vanguard fighters in this struggle against obscurantism, and the dark forces of the past.

Therefore, the generals who have betrayed their country a hundred times over will not succeed in making use of the scarecrow of communism as a means of isolating the people of Spain in their immediate struggle against those who want to make out of it a country where life is a tragedy, a country of relics of the past, a country where the military clique, priesthood and landed gentry are the absolute masters over the lives and property of our people. We Communists are defending the regime of liberty and democracy. Shoulder to shoulder with the Republicans, Socialists and Anarchists we will, at all costs, prevent Spain being dragged backwards, and lagging behind the general progress. We do not forget how history moves, and we adapt our policy to the needs of the moment being undergone by our people.

Brothers in Latin America, France, Belgium, England and all countries! Working people throughout the world! Intellectuals!

There have been no other acts of vandalism in Spain except those committed by the insurgent generals, who have wiped off the face of the earth the villages through which they have passed, and destroyed all the wealth accumulated by the people over many years of striving and heroic labor. The militia, the loyal republican forces, Communists, Socialists, Anarchists and Republicans respect life and property, protect believers, and are establishing real order, the order of peace and democracy.

It is a lie to suggest that Spain is in the grip of chaos. It is a lie to suggest that it is in a catastrophic position, as the traitors to the republic are declaring.

In these historic hours, the Communist Party, which is true to its revolutionary principles, respects the will of the people, and is taking the side of the government which expresses this will, the side of the republic, the side of democracy.

No fairy tales, no slanders or lies will drive us to capitulate in our struggle in defending the people against their executioners, against the criminals who have covered the land of our country with blood.

We know that the reactionaries and fascists in various countries are preparing a plot against the liberty of our people.

Democrats of England, France, and all countries, use every possible means to prevent any intervention against our country, if anybody should harbor the intention of undertaking such an attack on democracy and the republic. We ourselves will be able to settle accounts with our enemies, as is being shown by the defeats we have already dealt them. The struggle of the Spanish people is a struggle of the people, who will defeat the criminal attacks of the reactionary militarists; it is a struggle for peace and against the war-mongers. Help us! Let no one raise a

hand against Spain. The final defeat which we shall deal at fascism will be a mortal blow at world reaction. Help us to prevent the destruction of democracy, for there can be no doubt that in case of such a defeat, the consequences will undoubtedly be the outbreak of war, which we are all interested in preventing. Hold back the hands of the interventionists! The government of Spain is the government which followed from the electoral victory of February 16. We are supporting and defending it, since it fully represents the people fighting for democracy and liberty.

Long live a great and prosperous Spain, united with all the democratic peoples of the world!

Long live a free and happy Spain!

Long live the struggle of the people against reaction and fascism.

Long live the democratic republic.

Long Live the Spanish People, Long Live the Spanish Democratic Republic *

By K. GOTTWALD

THE eyes of the whole world are now directed towards Spain. For the fourth week now the civil war has been raging there. It was called forth by a band of bloodthirsty generals, monarchist creatures and fascist assassins. They started this struggle by rising up against the Spanish people, against the lawful government, against the democratic Spanish republic.

Opposed to the fascist insurgents are the majority of the Spanish people—workers, peasants and intellectuals. *The insurgents would have been routed long ago, and an end would have been put to the blood-letting long ago, had the Spanish insurgents not found support abroad. World reaction stands behind them.* Hitler and Mussolini are supplying them with arms. The reactionary press throughout the whole world is slandering the lawful Madrid government, the Spanish people and the Spanish anti-fascists, and is lauding to the skies the bandit generals and the assassins. The cause of Spain has thus become the cause of the *international struggle between fascism and anti-fascism*, between the darkest medieval barbarism and progress, between *the forces of war and the forces of peace, between fascist tyranny and democracy, between reactionary decay and civilization.*

Our first words, therefore, the first words of the working people of great Prague, are words of greeting, sympathy and solidarity with the heroic fighting united front of Spain, with the Spanish government, with the Spanish People's Republic. We address ourselves to you, heroic fighters on the other side of the Pyrenees. *We are with you; your cause is our cause.* Drive out and destroy your enemies and tormentors; liberate your splendid country from this foul scum, and win for yourselves a free, powerful and happy Spain.

* * *

The reactionaries in Czechoslovakia hastened with world reaction to the aid of the Spanish insurgents. Henlein and Esterhazy, Hlinka and Kramar, Strbrny and Vrany, Gayda and Kakanek, are all solid with Franco and Mola and, at the same time, with Hitler and Mussolini. It will be sufficient if we point to the following circumstances so as to display the absolutely clear political line of this solidarity and sympathy with the Spanish insurgents.

The Spanish insurgents have taken up arms against the lawful

* Speech by Comrade Gottwald, delivered at an open meeting which took place in Prague on August 19, 1936.

government, established as a result of the elections, and confirmed by parliament. Anyone who declares his solidarity with the insurgents endorses the revolt of the military clique against the lawful government.

The Spanish generals have violated law and order. They have plunged the country into the disaster of civil war; they are spreading murder and arson, and are sowing disorder, alarm and catastrophe. Anyone who stands for them endorses this barbarian violation of tranquility and order.

The Spanish fascists have taken up arms against the democratic republic. The bandit Franco has himself brazenly declared that his aim is to establish a fascist dictatorship after the fashion of Hitler and Mussolini. Anyone who takes the side of Franco proves that he is against democracy and in favor of a fascist dictatorship.

The Spanish adventurers have promised parts of Spanish territory to Hitler and Mussolini in payment for help given. To pay for help supplied to them in the struggle against their own people they are prepared to barter the republic to foreign states. *Any one who supports the insurgents endorses a similar squandering of their own country for the benefit of foreign states.*

The traitors to the Spanish states have concluded an alliance with the chief warmonger, fascist Germany. They have not hesitated to declare that, in case of victory, they will support with all their strength the war policy being pursued by Germany. But the Czechoslovakian republic is an object of the military aggression of Hitler Germany. And so *it is clear that anyone who desires the victory of Franco and Mola in Spain is at the same time assisting in strengthening Hitler, and thus creating a menace to peace and to the existence of the Czechoslovakian republic.*

There is a saying: tell me who are your friends, and I will tell you who you are. This is absolutely correct in relation to our reactionaries and the Spanish insurgents. What is needed is that the peoples who populate Czechoslovakia know with whom they are dealing. What is needed is that they see in time who are the local Gil Robles, Francos and Molas, where they have established themselves, and what they want. Therefore, we ask such gentlemen as Strbrny and Vrany, Kramar and Hlinka, Henlein and Esterhazy:

Dear sirs, are you in favor, along with the fascist insurgents, of the barbarian violation of peace and order? Yes or no?

Dear sirs, are you in favor of the reactionary revolt against the democratic republic? Yes or no?

Dear sirs, do you endorse the sale of territories to foreign states? Yes or no?

Dear sirs, do you want to strengthen Hitler and increase the menace to peace? Yes or no?

Dear sirs, do you want Czechoslovakia to fall into the hands of Hitler? Yes or no?

This, dear sirs, is how the question stands, and it is for you to say clearly, yes or no.

If your answer is in the negative, then you must quickly, very quickly, and fundamentally, very fundamentally, change your former point of view regarding the events in Spain.

If your answer is in the affirmative, then you must stand before the court of the people as traitors to the state, and you will be subjected to the operation of the most serious paragraphs of the law regarding the protection of the republic.

* * *

The overwhelming majority of each of the peoples populating Czechoslovakia is solid with the Spanish people, with the lawful government of Spain, with the Spanish republic. Witness of this, by the way, is provided by the indignation called forth among the people by the antics of the ex-king of Spain—the degenerate descendant of the Bourbon-Hapsburgs—Alfonso, when in the Metternich Palace in Koenigswart. The king has already gathered his baggage together and departed. We hope that the time will come when he and his like will not be able to depart for the only one reason that there will be nowhere for them to go.

But the question is not exhausted with the flight of Alfonso. Still less is it exhausted, in view of the fact that a colossal scandal took place in connection with this Alfonso. As is well known, a short while before the flight of the ex-king, an airplane and two couriers came to him from the insurgents. The airplane was piloted by a certain English adventurer by the name of John Ness. This clever John stole the confiscated airplane from the Marianbad aerodrome, and flew off to Austria. And now John has begun to publish his story in the British press. He relates the fact that one of the secret travelers was a certain Don Urutio, Minister of Aviation of the "government" of the insurgents in Burgos, an individual who thus supplied Alfonso in Czechoslovakia with news from the insurgent government. And so, we have confirmation of what we have asserted from the very beginning, namely, that Alfonso was engaged in plotting along with the Spanish insurgents.

It is impossible that the responsible organs of the republic, the government, should still continue to waver after this confirmation. The two couriers of the insurgent government still occupy the Metternich Palace in Koenigswart. First and foremost, the insurgent Minister of Aviation, Don Urutio, is there. We demand the immediate arrest of the palace monarchist pack who are now in the Metternich Palace in Koenigswart, and that they be handed over to the courts, according to the law regarding the protection of the republic, and that they be expelled.

In Prague, there is yet another highly placed insurgent, by the name of Tovar. This person was the deputy of the Spanish ambassador in Prague. Now he has betrayed the lawful government of Spain and has passed over to the service of the insurgents, seizing hold, for the benefit of the latter, of the property of the lawful government of Spain, namely, the Spanish Embassy in Prague. We demand that Tovar be expelled from the republic, and that the Czechoslovakian authorities make it im-

possible for the property of the Spanish government to be stolen, and ensure that this property is made available for the representative of this government. The fascist "government" in Burgos with truly fascist brazenesss has, in addition, demanded that it be recognized by the Czechoslovakian republic. We demand that the government of Czechoslovakia immediately make the categorical declaration that it does not and never will engage in negotiations with this band of executioners and murderers.

The defeat of the Spanish insurgents, of these accomplices of Hitler, is a matter of life and death for Czechoslovakia. A victory for them would strengthen the war front of all the fascist states engaged in intrigues against the cause of peace and against the independence of Czechoslovakia.

We therefore demand that the government of Czechoslovakia place no obstacles in the way of people who are organizing aid for the lawful government of Spain and the Spanish people, and that, first and foremost, it should place no obstacles in the way of the purchase of arms and war supplies for the Spanish people, for the Spanish republican army. All the more should this be so since it is a question of the lawful government recognized by Czechoslovakia, and since fascist Germany and Italy are not in the least concerned about "neutrality" and are feverishly arming the insurgents. We are convinced that the metal workers of Czechoslovakia will work with gladness and enthusiasm to prepare arms and airplanes so as thus to help the victory of the working people of Spain and their just cause.

I have already said that in Spain the question at stake is that of our common cause, namely, the cause of Socialists and Communists, Democrats and Republicans, workers and peasants, handicraft workers and intellectuals. What can be more natural than that all these elements, irrespective of their organizational and political affiliations, should act together in solidarity with the people, democracy and the Republic of Spain? What can be more natural than that this should be done, first and foremost, by the workers, the workers' organizations and the workers' parties?

Guided by this desire, our Party has made the corresponding proposal to the leaders of the Socialist Parties. You are aware of their reply. They have replied in the negative. Why? Because they refuse to take part in common solidarity at a time when the Socialist, Anarchist and Communist workers are acting together in Spain, and after taking up arms together, are fighting alongside one another and shedding their blood together, and, we hope, will be victorious together. Why do the leaders of the Socialist Parties refuse to undertake joint action at a moment when everything is at stake in Spain, including the Socialist working class movement; the existence of the republican regime, of the existence of democracy and the democratic republic? Why this refusal at a moment when, in Czechoslovakia, reaction as a whole, irrespective of party and nationality, is openly supporting the Spanish insurgents?

The leaders and the press of the Socialist Parties are trying to explain this away by all possible means. And, in this connection, they

re hammering away all the time primarily at the following argument: Ve, they say, have no desire to transfer the discord in Spain to our ative land of Czechoslovakia and, first and foremost, to our coalition gov- rnment. With this end in view, they have invented the following slogan: We are against the policy of Vrany, and against the policy of Gottwald." ut we say that they would have been more to the point if they had dded: "We are for the policy of the ostrich."

Let us think things over a little. The Socialist leaders and their ress say approximately the following: "Vrany, *i.e.*, the reaction, wishes make use in our country of the Spanish events in order to exert ressure from the Right. Gottwald, *i.e.*, the Communist, wants, on the asis of the Spanish events, to bring about a turn to the Left. We do ot want to have anything to do either with the one or the other; we ant to be left in peace." Such is their line of argument to outward ppearances. But what is it in reality? In reality, the position is as llows: They are in the same coalition government as Vrany, but are raid to have anything to do with the Communists, even though it is question of only organizing a joint meeting. And so, Vrany, the ally the Spanish insurgents, is their partner in the coalition government. ut everybody knows of the solidarity of Vrany with Franco and Mola. rany himself makes no state secret of this. He has already written uch about this and has declared it out aloud. But our super-wiseacres, e Socialist leaders, and their press, find a way out of the situation re as well. They simply divide Vrany into two parts, and, with a rious mien, declare that "Vrany is not Vrany. We collaborate", is eir view, "with the Vrany who is in the coalition government, but don't want to hear anything of the Vrany who is in ecstacies about e Spanish insurgents. Therefore, we are against the policy of Vrany d against the policy of Gottwald."

If the position were not so profoundly serious, we could have a od laugh at this distortion of logic by the people who today determine e policy of the Socialist Party. But now is not the time for laughing.

It is absolutely impermissible and intolerable that at the moment en international reaction in general (to which the Czechoslovakian re- ionaries in particular are affiliated) openly expresses its solidarity th the insurgents, the leaders of the Socialist Parties of Czecho- vakia reject joint action by the working people of Czechoslovakia the interests of the people, democracy and the Republic of Spain.

This is all the more intolerable since the Labor and Socialist Inter- tional and the Amsterdam International have called on the workers oughout the world to undertake solidarity action with the Spanish ple.

The negative position of the leading bodies of the Socialist Parties our country is all the more intolerable in that a movement of solidarity h the Spanish heroes is developing throughout the world. The workers the Soviet Union have already donated 60,000,000 krons. The working ple of France are supplying their Spanish brothers with tremendous litical, moral and material aid. The movement in favor of democratic

Spain has taken hold of England, the Scandinavian countries, Belgium, Switzerland, the whole of Europe and the democratic world as a whole.

Czechoslovakia should not and will not occupy the last place. The Socialist workers, the Socialist organizations, and the whole of our democratic and republican public opinion must express their solidarity with the fighters in Spain, and are expressing it. The whole of democratic Czechoslovakia, irrespective of organizational and party affiliation, must today raise their voices and cry out:

Down with the Spanish insurgents and their international accomplices!

Long live the Spanish people!

Long live the Spanish democratic republic!

An extremely serious, historic and political connection exists between Czechoslovakia and Spain. The Spanish people are fighting for a free democratic and independent Spain, and for peace. *Czechoslovakia is entering a new stage of its struggle for its state independence, and the Czechish people are faced with the menace of losing their national liberty;* all the peoples of Czechoslovakia are faced with the most serious threat of the horrors of a new war. And the very same elements which are striving to bring about the defeat of democratic Spain are stretching out their dirty hands to grasp Czechoslovakia as well. After the factual unification of Danzig, and after having provoked war in Spain, Hitler Germany is paying increased attention to Czechoslovakia.

The fascist rulers of Berlin, the heroes of the Reichstag fire, are saying the following about themselves: Now is the most favorable moment for making a concentrated onslaught on Czechoslovakia. And we can see how Hitler Berlin is beginning to develop the sort of tactics in relation to Czechoslovakia which were called the psychological attack during the world war.

In the unified press of the Third Empire, and from the mouths of the prostitutes of Viennese journalism—beginning with the depths of the journalistic cesspool of Budapest and Warsaw, and ending with the "respectable" press of certain English lords—a voice is being raised, the profound meaning of which is the following: the home and foreign policy of Czechoslovakia must be unified with the policy of the Third Empire! This propaganda is masked outwardly in an innocent covering —it is a question, allegedly, of improving relations between Czechoslovakia and Germany.

So then we declare: *We have never had anything against the German people, against the German nation. On the contrary, we have always sympathized and continue to sympathize* with this capable, highly developed and *cultured people,* who are now suffering under the lash of the fascist barbarians. As a state, Germany is not menaced by anybody from without, and least of all by Czechoslovakia. It is absurd and stupid to imagine that Czechoslovakia, with its 15,000,000 population could harbor aggressive designs in relation to Germany, with its population of 65,000,000. *If we reproach the Czechoslovakian government in this sense, it is only in connection with something which every progressive and*

thinking citizen of the Czechoslovakian republic is convinced of—namely, that it is displaying too much loyality to the Hitler government. In Czechoslovakia, not only are anti-fascist German emigrés deprived of the possibility of engaging in any sort of political activity, but frequently it is impossible for them even to exist, and quite often they are expelled. Here in Czechoslovakia, our citizens are frequently deprived of the possibility of expressing their opinions about Hitler. Here in Czechoslovakia, we are deprived of the possibility of holding demonstrations of solidarity with Thaelmann, Andre, Ossietsky and other martyrs. Herr Henlein, Hitler's open agent, has full liberty of action. All these are really phenomena which rather testify to complete subordination to Hitler rather than to aggressive designs against him. The attitude of official Czechoslovakia to the "Third Empire" is thus more than a correct one.

Yet Hitler and his agents cry out aloud that this must be altered, that they want more. What does this mean? It means that Hitler declares that he is not satisfied with the correctness displayed by Czechoslovakia; that he is not satisfied with the latter's loyalty; that what is more, *he does not take any account of its loyalty, but demands capitulation, subordination and the unification of Czechoslovakia.* Or else that he wants Czechoslovakia to fall on its knees before him, to crawl on its belly before him, and place itself at his mercy.

This is the profound meaning and the aim of Hitler's present psychological attack on Czechoslovakia. Every progressive and free-thinking citizen of Czechoslovakia should recognize this if he wishes correctly to understand the position of the various parties and groups in relation to Hitler's offensive.

What can be the only correct and appropriate reply of a real Czechoslovakian republican and democrat to the arrogant demands of Hitler? Approximately, the following: Herr Hitler, we hate you from the bottom of our soul, and we are convinced that the German people will one day settle accounts with you once and for all. But till then, we categorically forbid you to interfere in our Czechoslovakian affairs. It is our business, and only ours, how we conduct our domestic and foreign policy. If you are anxious to establish better relations with Czechoslovakia, this depends exclusively on yourself. Give up your plans of undermining work in Czechoslovakia; take note of the pact between Czechoslovakia and France and the U.S.S.R.; recognize the principle of the inviolability of peace and collective security, and we shall always be ready on this basis to come to agreement even with you, although, believe us, we get sick at the very sight of you. If you don't want this, we are very sorry, but we cannot help it. However, take note of one thing. If you attempt to take by force that which we voluntarily will never hand over to you, *then you will come up against a line, stretching from the forest of Bohemia to the Giant Mountains, composed not only of concrete and iron, but also of our living bodies.* And think this over well. We shall not be alone. The Red Army of the Soviet Union will be with us. The army of the French People's Front will be with us. Public opinion will

be with us. All that is progressive in the world will be with us. Those whom you fear more than anybody else will be with us, namely, the working class of Germany, the army of Thaelmann will be with us. And so, Herr Hitler, the drum which you are beating, calling for war against Czechoslovakia, may, in a comparatively short period of time, become transformed into your funeral bell.

This is what the reply of every Czechoslovakian republican and democrat should be to Hitler. If such were the case, Hitler, with all his brazenness, would have to put his tail between his legs. Yes, there are only 15,000,000 of us in Czechoslovakia, but if these 15,000,000 were united in the struggle against Hitler, this gentleman would break his teeth in coming up against us, all the more so that we are not alone, but behind us we have the public opinion of the whole world.

But among these 15,000,000, there are people who, at the moment of growing danger, are spreading panic and demanding capitulation. The fact that Hitler is outside the fortress is in itself a great danger. But Hitler, outside the fortress, collaborating with his myrmidons inside, is a mortal danger.

And look, it is no accident that the front of those who support the Spanish Franco and Mola is fundamentally the same one as that of those who are demanding capitulation to Hitler.

Henlein and Esterhazy, Hlinka and Kramar, Vramy and Strbrny, all these worshippers of the Spanish putschists, all these gentlemen are demanding, in various ways, that Czechoslovakia should enter into negotiations with Hitler on the basis of *his* terms. What can one say? Here one is really at a loss for words. And the worst and most dangerous thing in this connection is that, among these plotters, who are encroaching on the *safety and existence of the republic, there is a governmental party, the reactionary leadership of the Agrarian Party, whose mouthpiece is the official agrarian newspaper headed by Vrany, its chief editor.*

Henlein spoke at a meeting on Sunday, where he declared that one could not speak openly about everything. In the trenches, for instance, one does not speak of the offensive which is to begin in two days. These are terrible, incredibly bold words. Henlein quite openly announces an attack on the republic, and he is allowed to do so. And he is allowed to do not only this. *The biggest governmental party continues to negotiate with him and to make arrangements with him.* The biggest governmental party and its reactionary leadership are still reckoning with the possibility of Henlein participating in the government of the Czechoslovakian republic. What shall we call this? I repeat, I am at a loss for words. And I add that, if the watchman in the Middle Ages announced that "traitors are at the gates of the castle", then now we must cry out as loudly as possible so that every person in our republic may hear it: "Citizens, republicans and democrats, treachery has penetrated into the castle."

What else is there to add? Perhaps a warning to the leaders of the Socialist Parties, to all honest democrats and republicans: "People, open your eyes, come to your senses, sharpen your wits! Collect your-

selves before it is too late. A noose has been drawn tight around our necks, the neck of the republic. One end of the noose is in the hands of Hitler, while the other is in the hands of reaction here. Let us come to our senses and hack off the hand of reaction here. Very much, everything, is at stake. Woe to you if you prove to be narrow-minded and petty in this moment which is so heavy with consequences."

Perhaps we should appeal to the rank-and-file members of the Socialist Parties, to all democrats and republicans, to all people of goodwill. In face of the danger which threatens us *all*, we must put into the background all that divides us, and muster our forces. *Let us come together into a wide People's Front; let us muster our forces in the ranks of a wide front for the defense of the republic. Let us unite and tell Hitler, so that he should have no doubts left in his mind: "Herr Hitler, Czechoslovakia will never, do you hear, become a province of the Third Empire'."*

Let us muster our forces and tell Hitler's accomplices and worshippers in the Czechoslovakian Republic the following: "Gentlemen, you are playing with fire in your attempt to bring us under Hitler's yoke."

Let us close our ranks and tell all the reactionaries in Czechoslovakia: "Gentlemen, the world is beginning to move Leftwards again. *This development will not stop in Bodenbach. In Czechoslovakia there will also be a people's front and a people's government.*"

It will come at all costs.

Fascism or Democracy?*

REGARDING THE EVENTS IN SPAIN

By ANDRE MARTY

I

THE fascist reactionary and militarist bands have raised a revolt throughout the whole of Spain.

Once again the infamous fascists are opposing the freely expressed will of the majority of the people by brutal license and fierce violence.

The united action established by the Socialists and Communists, the "Frente Populaire" which covers the Socialists, Communists and Syndicalists of the U.G.T. (General Labor Alliance) the Pestana** current of the anarchist C.N.Y. (National Confederation of Labor), the radicals, republicans, and the Catalonian Left, etc., have already barred the way to the fascists. On the 16th of February the masses of the people solemnly endorsed all the actions and the program of the People's Front, by giving them an overwhelming majority at the general election.

And then the reactionaries, who in Spain as in other capitalist countries dress themselves up in the toga of defenders of law and order, refused to accept the verdict of the people. All that is most reactionary in the ranks of the Spanish reactionaries—all the feudal parasites, all the dirty financiers of the March type, who have sold themselves to foreign capital, let loose a campaign, unheard of in its ferocity, against the People's Front and the government placed in power by the latter. This was the fire under cover of which the plot against the institutions of the republic was undertaken.

The fascist plotters organized an uninterrupted "systematic sabotage" of the whole economic life of the country, as Comrade Diaz, Secretary of the Communist Party and Deputy to the Cortez, expressed it. This took the following forms: the systematic increase in the prices of commodities and vitally necessary products; the uninterrupted dismissal of workers from the factories; the red tape and delay in the fulfillment of agreements concluded with the workers on the basis of state arbitration; the merciless persecution of trade union officials, lockouts, the closing down of enterprises, etc. In the villages the big feudal agriculturalists cynically issued the call to stop sowing the fields, so as to doom the whole of the population to starvation. In a word, all means were utilized by the enemies of the people to lower the already miserable standard of living of the working people of Spain, and to give rise to hunger, want and desperation in the towns and villages.

At the same time the speculators who were united in demanding "the revival of Spain" uninterruptedly transferred great sums of money

* Reprinted from *l'Humanite* of August 1 and 4, 1936.

** Pestana, one of the leaders of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Confederation of Labor. In 1933 he established the Syndicalist Party, which joined the People's Front.

abroad. In this connection the aim they pursued was the double one of devaluating the peseta, and of having capital beyond the bounds of Spain in connection with the forthcoming military-fascist revolt, which was being carefully prepared by the fascists and counter-revolutionaries.

What is more, in addition to the unheard-of sabotage threatening the lives of all the people, these gentlemen, the guardians of "order", proceeded to resort to individual terror, and assassination became an everyday phenomenon in the towns and villages. Day in and day out, leading members of the working class movement, deputies, anti-fascists, and even republican officers fell at the hands of the fascist assassins. The aim of these acts of individual terror by members of the C.E.D.A.* and the "Spanish Renaissance"** was the double one of, on the one hand, driving fear into the population, and on the other hand of showing that the government which had come to power after the victory of the People's Front was not in a position to secure order and a normal state of things, so as thereby to discredit the government within the country and outside it. All this was open treachery to the peaceful people of Spain, who wanted to make use of their victory in order to build up a free, strong and happy Spain, in conditions of complete order and quiet.

Unfortunately for the fascist saboteurs, faith in the People's Front increased with every day that passed. This is why the reactionaries decided to play their last card, namely, to resort to armed force, to an uprising against the lawful government which had been placed in power by the people on the basis of universal suffrage, and against the laws being applied and observed by the national representative assembly and the government.

The present fascist and reactionary revolt was carefully prepared *politically and materially*, and has nothing in common with the former military *coup d'etats* in Spain.

This is why young Spanish democracy has been subjected to greater danger than at any time before. The aristocracy and their sons in the army, the grasping feudalists, the golden youth, the habitués of the night restaurants, the fanatic priests and the small nobility, who raised revolt in Navarre, the Spanish Vendee, the officers who are as giftless as they are thirsting for new epaulettes and sinecures—all these parasites, all these declassed elements, all these adventurists who base themselves on a section of the deluded soldiers, went into a life and death struggle against young Spanish democracy.

As is well known, General Sanjurjo was to have been the leader of the revolt. He was an out and out monarchist who had on several occasions organized plots against the republic, but he perished in an airplane accident in the first days of the revolt. Of whom was his staff composed? Of the shameless and unscrupulous adventurist "General" Franco, the Jesuit General Mola who has passed through the school of the monarchist gendarmerie, and also several other high commanding officers of the same type.

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* The Spanish Confederation of Right Autonomous Organizations, led by Gil Robles.
** Fascist-Monarchist Party of Spain.

These gentlemen needed people of their own calibre, and they began to gather together all that is most foul in the country. First and foremost they directed themselves to the Foreign Legion, of which not less than 10 per cent of the soldiers are the dregs of all nations, sentenced by the courts in Spain and all other countries, and whose only "military" deeds are arson, violence against and the murder of the peaceful population. It was clear that with the participation of such a storm detachment which had earned the woeful fame of "devastating Asturias" in October, 1934, and of such souteneurs and blood-thirsty nobles from among the fascist bands the civil war would be a merciless one.

Even the bourgeois correspondents in Spain who sympathize with the insurgents themselves expose the ferocity of the fascist insurgents.

The Reuters correspondent in Gibraltar stated, from the words of the Legionaries themselves, that they had received orders not to take prisoners. There is information that the desire has been expressed to do away in the course of three days with the more than a hundred arrested anti-fascists in the barracks of Linea. In San Roque 60 supporters of the People's Front were shot on the spot, on the public square, after a search had been made.

The city of d'Alferra was taken by the fascists without a single loss on their side. M. Bertrand de Jouvenel reported the following:

> "A small group of poorly clad people marched on the great city square between two rows of soldiers. They were quickly sorted out. And they were tried still quicker.
>
> "After the prisoners were put up against the wall."

The correspondent of the *Petit Parisien* telegraphs from San Sebastian that "if you notice anybody with a white armband, get out of his way as quickly as possible".

Now look at the people of the People's Front:

> "The Catalonian government continues to protect all memorials and buildings which are of artistic value and which may be threatened with destruction.
>
> "For this purpose orders were given for the occupation of various monasteries, in particular the monasteries of Montserrat, Poblet, Santabruz, St. Marie-de-Ripoll, etc.
>
> "It was also possible to save the church of St. Paul du Champ which is the treasure store of Spanish art, and also museums." (*Le Temps*, July 25, 1936.)

"*Complete order reigns in Barcelona*," reported the *Times*.-

On the one hand there stand the Spanish fascist bands who are competing in their foul ferocity and barbarism with the brown bandits—and on the other hand, the armed people, completely self-possessed and full of grit, under the leadership of the government which has been placed in power by the People's Front, and is defending the democratic order.

"*Liberty or death*" was the slogan of the volunteers in 1792 during the French revolution. The working class of all countries, and all in the world who are honest and incorruptible bow their heads in respect to those who without wavering are giving their lives so as to wipe from

the face of the earth the descendents of the inquisitors, to win victory and thereby to strengthen the hope of a better future among the people who are still languishing under the yoke of the black and brown shirts.

II

One thing is certain, namely, that the Spanish reactionaries could not, with their own forces, have begun an uprising on such a scale. It would have been immediately suppressed. If the civil war has assumed such a scope and such a long drawn-out character, it is because the fascists have received aid from outside.

On June 21, M. Ed. Helsey wrote the following in the Paris *Journal:*

> "For several weeks the preparations for the civil war have been going on. On Tuesday it was decided to speed up the offensive. Airmen of foreign origin flew in the direction of Madrid. With them they carried *the entire military exchequer of 500,000,000 francs*, and they succeeded in their mission."

Where did they get these 500,000,000 francs? And why was it that General Sanjurjo who has to have led all the operations of the fascist insurgents lived in Germany for such a long time?

Is it true, as the *Manchester Guardian* asserts, that Franco carried on negotiations with the representatives of Hitler, whom he promised the support of Spain restored by himself, and the use of a naval base in the Balearic Isles, in exchange for immediate financial aid and war supplies?

Is it true, as the Associated Press correspondent asserts, that insurgents are armed with weapons of German and British origin?

Is it true that 24 airplanes and hydroplanes were sent to the insurgents from Hamburg? Is it true that the German Consulates in all the towns seized by the insurgents have become transformed into the headquarters of the fascists?

Are still more glaring proofs needed than the dispatch to Spanish waters of German warships, including two new battleships and one cruiser? The very fact alone of the appearance of these warships is an impermissible favoring of the insurgents and a threat to the population.

The *Voelkischer Beobachter* openly declares the need for military intervention in Spain, on the alleged grounds of the need to "protect German subjects". Remember the popular proverb: "If you want to find the murderer, seek for the one who will gain from the murder," and you will see that Hitler more than anybody else is interested in the victory of Franco's gang.

The military diversion on the Pyrenees, with a view to compelling French troops to withdraw from the Eastern border and also from the Mediterranean Sea and North Africa, is so much in the interest of the Nazis, that Berlin cannot but strive for such a diversion, and prepare and support it in every possible way. Berlin is the place where we must seek for those who bear the responsibility for blood being shed in Spain

by the fascists. It is the hand of Hitler which is spilling blood in Spain in order to satisfy the criminal designs of German fascism.

The activity of fascist Italy in Spain on the eve of the declaration of the republic, and then in the first months of its existence is well known. It is also well known that Primo de Rivera promised Mussolini the Balearic Isles in return for support. And now we have France receiving bombing planes from Itaiy.

The fascists in both Germany and Italy are acting shoulder to shoulder in the same direction. As regards British imperialism which has no less than 18 warships in Spanish ports, and which sent four big planes to Lisbon, it has shown its sympathy from the very beginning for the insurgent Franco. Now British imperialism, true a little belatedly, has seen that its German and Italian competitors are receiving benefits from this operation.

If the civil war which has broken out in Spain meets with success for the fascists, it will prove to be the prologue for a new imperialist war. Again and again the Hitlerite and Italian fascists are appearing in the role of the inspirers and provocators of war. Franco need only maintain his positions in Spanish Morocco for some little time, for the possibility of new German and Italian intrigues to open up. The danger of war is becoming all the more serious since Hitlerite propaganda is now very considerable in Algiers and especially Oran.

So the heroic militia, and all the republicans who are fighting in Spain against fascist barbarism, are fighting not only for their own liberty, but also in the interests of the defense of peace. This is why all friends of peace so heartily desire the success of the People's Front in Spain.

This is why the international proletariat and all the supporters of democracy and peace are demanding that nobody interfere in the present internal war in Spain. Let the lawful government be given the chance of crushing the insurgent fascist bandits, with the aid of the people.

The workers and the supporters of peace in all countries must do everything in their power to prevent the criminal German and Italian fascists from interfering in the Spanish events in any way whatsoever.

III

Are the French reactionaries not connected with the fascist movement on the other side of the Pyrenees? Are they standing aside from any participation in the events which have led to the blood-letting in Spain, and which may stain the whole world with blood? Not at all. They are participating in the fascist movement and helping it on exactly the same basis as Hitler.

How else are we to explain the fact that on July 19, when the fascist uprising had hardly begun, the *Figaro* had already published in full the military plan of the fascists, which was later, on July 18 to 20, reproduced in the *Bulletin Quotidien* still more exactly? After these papers, the *Echo de Paris*, the *Action Francaise* and the entire French reactionary press developed a wide campaign with a view to creating a favorable

atmosphere for the Spanish insurgents. And we are witnesses to the fact that people who call themselves Republicans are making ferocious onslaughts not against the fascist insurgents, but against the defenders of the Spanish Republic. These famous "democrats" are in their press supporting the wild dictators who are putting everything to the fire and sword on the other side of the Pyrenees.

These gentlemen of the French reactionary circles, who are showing themselves to be so well informed, cannot but be aware of the fact that Franco is linked up with Hitler. And in spite of this, these so-called patriots support Hitler's agents.

This is what the Royalist paper *Candide* writes:

> "If in France we have to be subjected to the tyranny of the People's Front until the end of our patience comes and an uprising begins, where is it stated that the liberation movement will not come to us from North Africa?"

At the same time the Governor General of French Morocco, Peysouton, hands over 500,000 francs from the State Bank of Morocco to Franco, and arranges an interview between this bandit insurgent and the representative of the local official paper *La Vigie Marocaine.*

And finally "sensational" exposures by Kerills and de Pujo who belong to a League disbanded by law appear accusing the Blum government of participating in the civil war in Spain, and of dispatching arms and airplanes to the lawful government in Madrid. This campaign is an abominable one not only for its bare-faced lying, but mainly for the fact that it provides Hitler with the excuse for intervention for which he is waiting. Although the telegraphic report of the Berlin correspondent of the *Paris Midi* to the effect that "the German press and German official circles are speaking of the need for international intervention, so as to restore order and settle things", was printed in Germany, it originates directly from Paris. The French reactionaries and fascists who boast of their patriotism have once again exposed themselves as Hitler's comrades-in-arms.

The reactionary French press which is consciously spreading lies has reported that the dictatorship of the proletariat has been declared in various regions in Spain, and that the Communist Party is virtually the sole master in Malaga, Barcelona and Catalonia. The aim is always the same, namely, to try by all possible means to split the People's Front in Spain, so as thereby to deal a similar blow at the People's Front in France, and all the more if it plays into the hands of Hitler.

It is profoundly to be regretted that certain Left newspapers in France have given an estimate of the events in Spain such as has harmed both the heroic struggle of the Spanish people and the People's Front in France. This refers, in particular, to those papers which asserted that "if Spain avoids the fascist danger it will not be able to avoid the danger of revolution", and also to those papers which have spoken of the Bolshevization of Spain, all these statements being supported by an incorrect

and stupid comparison between the Kornilov events in Russia, and the fascist revolt of Franco in Spain.

Yet the working class parties, and especially the Communist Party of Spain have repeatedly given a clear statement as to the aim now facing the working people of Spain. And our brother Communist Party of Spain, in particular, has on several occasions pointed out that the struggle now taking place in Spain is not between capitalism and socialism, but between fascism and democracy.

In a country such as Spain, where the relics of feudalism are still very deeply rooted, the immediate and urgent task facing the working class and the whole of the people, a task which is *the only possible one*, and one which is repeatedly stated in all the recent calls issued by the Communist Party, not the bringing about of the socialist revolution, but the defense, consolidation and extension of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The only slogan guiding the work of the Communist Party is that printed right across the pages of the *Mundo Obrero* on July 18, namely: *"Long live the Democratic Republic."*

All this is well-known, and only dishonest people can assert the opposite. The People's Front in Spain, part of which are the Communists who are fighting and dying in its front ranks, is striving to secure that a really democratic regime should be preserved in the country and be further developed. The desire of the People's Front is that the social legislation adopted by the Cortes after the elections, or that which will be adopted, should be fulfilled by the employers. The People's Front wishes to render those employers harmless who will systematically sabotage the law, and those speculators and feudalists who are attempting to starve the population by raising prices and by refusing to sow the fields. In short, the People's Front is striving and fighting, in accordance with its program, for democratic liberty, for bread, for peace.

The cases of confiscation which have taken place in the recent period in Spain, as, for instance, the confiscation of buildings and the newspapers of the insurgents, were a measure of punishment directed against enemies and known saboteurs, a measure operated not as a socialist measure, but as a measure of the defense of the republic. This calls to mind the Decree of the Convent regarding the confiscation of the property of those who fought an armed struggle against the republic.

What is the Madrid government reproached with? An appeal to the proletarians, the arming of the workers. But who can reproach the Madrid government for its call to those who showed their loyalty to the republic by giving their lives for it without wavering? This reproach could only be made by people whose interest it is to destroy the republic. Can one look on unmoved at the general arming of the people, which calls forth the splendid "mass resort to arms" of 1793, during the French revolution? The armies of the workers who have issued from the heart of the republic are being sent from Madrid to the north, southeast and southwest, are marching from Barcelona to Saragossa, and from Asturias southwards. Does this not call to mind how the Convent once hurled its fourteen armies of the people on all fronts, against the Vendee

and other territories seized by the Royalists who stretched their arms abroad in an attempt to stab the young French Republic in the back?

For months preceding the fascist revolt the Communists untiringly called on the government and the people to take measures necessary for the defense of the republican regime. It is now beyond doubt that had the advice given by the Communist Party received greater attention, far less blood would have been shed in connection with the suppression of the fascist revolt.

As yesterday, so today the Communists are supporting with all their strength the Giral government which has issued the call to the masses of the people to destroy fascism. The working people throughout the whole world are profoundly moved in greeting the workers and peasants of Spain who have united in militia detachments, the splendid women who are competing with their husbands and brothers in the display of heroism, those who are defending and saving democracy, all those who today in the vanguard of the working class of the capitalist countries are fighting a life and death struggle for liberty.

IV

In the struggle now going on in Spain not only the Communists, Socialists and the working class as a whole are interested. Republicans, democrats, liberals throughout the world, and all those who do not wish for the shame and barbarism of fascism are also interested in it. At the present moment this struggle is assuming the character of an international conflict between the forces of fascism and anti-fascism. The fate of European democracy is at stake. This is why all friends of liberty and peace must unite to undertake joint action in defense of the republic and democracy in Spain.

This front in defense of the Spanish republic should be as wide as it is in Spain, where it embraces all sections of the population. There in Spain, workers, peasants and doctors, Catalonian intellectuals and the mountain men of Basque, women and students, artists and former ministers are fighting shoulder to shoulder at the front.

In this front the working class will be the chief driving force in defending democracy, just as the foremost positions are occupied by it in Spain in the struggle to defend the republic. But international working class unity must be brought about, if this front of the people is to be hammered out.

What is at stake in the great battles in Spain? Liberty and Peace! May the seriousness of the danger speed up the bringing about of international working class unity, the unity of the masses of the people which alone can secure us liberty and peace.

The Solidarity Campaign in Aid of the Spanish People

NEW YORK dockers and British miners, workers of the Paris suburbs and Chinese peasants, workers and collective farmers of the great Soviet Union who underwent all the pain and suffering of civil war, and are now triumphantly building socialist society, all anti-fascists, supporters of peace all over the world, are following the heroic struggle of the Spanish people against the fascist insurgents with unflagging attention and profound alarm.

Infinitely great is the power of international proletarian solidarity!

THE U.S.S.R.

One hundred and twenty thousand toilers of the proletarian capital, Moscow, were present, with their banners and posters, at a meeting of solidarity with the Spanish people, on the Red Square, on August 3, 1936.

The toilers of Moscow came to the Red Square to proclaim the slogans: "Hands off revolutionary Spain", "Long live the heroic Spanish people", "Let us give material support to the fighters of Spain".

In the factories, collective farms, and among the tractor brigades, in the shafts of the Metro—over the entire country—meetings of proletarian solidarity took place, and funds were gathered in aid of the Spanish fighters and their families.

Workers and collective farmers, writers and scientists made stirring and ardent speeches calling for aid to be rendered to the Spanish people. The working men and women of the Electrozavod works in Moscow declared the following in the resolution they adopted:

> "We are deeply concerned for the fate of the toilers of Spain who are carrying on an heroic struggle in a united front against brutal fascism—for freedom, and for a democratic republic. The lives of millions of people, the lives of whole nations are in danger."

Savostianov, an old worker of the bicycle works in Moscow, declared in a speech at a meeting held at the works:

> "I remember how difficult it was for us to carry on the fight against the White-Guard hounds. Now we have won a happy life, and there is no poverty and unemployment among us. It is with joy that each one of us will give part of his wages in order to assist the Spanish people to win their happy future."

The members of the Krasny Kolkhoznik collective farm of the Krasnoholmsk district in the Kalinin Region included the following in the resolution accepted at a general farm meeting:

"The Spanish people are in danger. The fascists are attempting to cover the entire country with the blood of the toilers. To beat off the foul attack of the brutal fascists upon the Spanish people, what is needed is the united front of the toilers of the entire world. We donate from the general funds of the collective farm 100 rubles to the fund in aid of the Spanish people and, in addition, we have gathered 50 more rubles on a collection list."

The Stakhanovite worker Malivina, at a meeting of 5,000 working men, working women and technicians of the Ural Machine Building (Engineering) Works, in a stirring speech, said with genuine feeling:

"We, happy daughters of our socialist fatherland, are following the struggle of our Spanish sisters with emotion. We experience inexpressible joy when we hear how the Spanish women and girls together with their fathers, brothers and husbands, are with arms in their hands, dealing blows at the fascists. We are proud of their heroism and we are sure that they will be victorious."

The collection of funds in aid of the fighters for the Spanish Republic, which was begun at the call of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, brought in the sum of 12,145,000 rubles ($2,401,070) in the course of a few days. This money was transferred to the account of Giral, the Prime Minister of the Spanish Republic, for disposal by the Spanish government.

GREAT BRITAIN

From the first days after the military-fascist revolt broke out, the C.P.G.B., through the *Daily Worker*, repeatedly stressed the fact that it was the united and People's Fronts which had prevented the success of the revolt of the fascists.

In the July 25 issue of the *Daily Worker* there appeared a rousing call from Harry Pollitt, the leader of the C.P.G.B. to the workers of Great Britain, "to defend the Spanish Republic". This call was immediately reprinted and distributed as a separate leaflet. Comrade Pollitt showed the role of Berlin and Rome in the Spanish events, pointed out that "many circles of the British ruling class are equally hoping for a fascist victory in Spain", and therefore called for a "mighty united front of solidarity with the Spanish people", for the organization of "meetings and demonstrations everywhere", for resolutions of support to be sent to the Spanish government, for the demand to be raised "that the National Government shall provide the people's government of Spain with the oil and coal and food supplies they need . . .", and for an end to be put to the "false neutrality that only conceals support for the fascists". The call concluded with a special appeal to trade unionists to send greetings and pledges of financial help to the trade unionists of Spain.

On the very next day, July 26, at the demonstration held in Trafal-

gar Square against the new Means Test Regulations, Comrade Pollitt dealt especially with the events in Spain:

> "We must force the government to give assistance to the people's government of Spain", he declared. "We must demand of the National Council of Labor to organize a nationwide campaign of solidarity, to send money to Spain now, to send an official labor delegation to Spain, to demand facilities from the British Broadcasting Company to broadcast messages of solidarity and success to the Spanish people, and that the Labor Party in Parliament hold up business in Parliament and prevent any further obstruction by the National Government of the heroic fight of the Spanish people."

The audience responded magnificently in this heartfelt appeal, and over £60 was collected on the spot. In addition, as soon as the meeting was over, thousands of people marched to the Spanish Embassy where the Spanish Ambassador was presented with a message. The C.C. of the C.P.G.B. sent a letter to the Spanish Ambassador expressing hearty sympathy and promising support. The Ambassador, in a letter to Harry Pollitt, thanked the Communist Party for the expression of sympathy with the Spanish government.

The Communist Party leadership immediately addressed a letter to the Labor Party suggesting joint action by the organization of a series of mass meetings, a deputation to the Spanish Ambassador, and a protest by the Labor M.P.'s in Parliament against the government's refusal to allow Spanish warships to refuel in Gibraltar.

No reply was forthcoming. On the 28th, the *Daily Herald* reported that the National Council of Labor had issued an appeal for solidarity with the Spanish people, and for financial support, the T.U.C. opening the subscription list with a donation of £1,000.

The Communist Party carried its struggle in defense of the Spanish people into the House of Commons, Comrade Gallacher questioning the government as to the refusal of the naval authorities in Gibraltar to allow fueling facilities to the Spanish navy loyal to the democratic government, and securing the open statement of the assurance by Mr. Eden, "that His Majesty's government would put no obstacle in the way of the Spanish government desiring to purchase fuel from commercial firms".

The London D.P.C. immediately set itself the task of collecting £100 for the National Council of Labor Fund, and for that purpose organized an indoor solidarity meeting to take place on the 29th, at the same time making a direct approach to the London Labor Party and London Trades Council proposing immediate joint consultation to plan meetings, marches, and collections.

The solidarity meeting arranged was a tremendous success, the magnificent sum of £178 being collected. This sum was later taken by a delegation to Transport House for inclusion in the National Council of Labor Fund.

Those who attended the meeting marched to the offices of the *Daily*

Mail, and sent in a delegation to that paper demanding that a stop be put to the dissemination of lies about the heroic struggle of the people of Spain. By August 19 the London D.P.C. had collected more than £400.

On July 30 the C.C. of the C.P.G.B. published a pamphlet on Spain by Emile Burns.

On August 6 Comrade Harry Pollitt, in an article in the *Daily Worker* showed how the civil war in Spain was carefully organized and prepared with the aid of the fascist governments of Italy and Germany. He pointed out that the struggle now going on in Spain is for the defense of democracy and against fascism. In this document, Comrade Pollitt gave a statement of the measures to be taken. These included the following:

The National Government only to recognize the elected people's government of Spain, and to be compelled to give it the help it needs. Assistance to the Spanish fascists either by states such as Italy and Germany, or by civil firms and individuals in Britain, to be prevented. The forces and power at the disposal of the League of Nations to be immediately mobilized behind one of its members. Rigid censorship to be operated of the lies and provocations of the British Broadcasting Corporation and Tory press. The National Council of Labor to send a deputation to the National Government to demand the fullest support of the government of Spain. A nationwide campaign to be undertaken, drawing in all democratic forces behind the Spanish people. Weekly collections to be organized by the trade unions and all trade union members in the armament and transport industries to refuse to allow any munitions, airplanes or pilots to be transported to help the insurgents. The Red Cross to be asked to organize doctors, ambulances and equipment to tend the wounded fighters in Spain. The cooperative movement to be urged to send food ships to Spain, and a delegation of leading representatives of all the democratic and peace movements to go to Spain as an act of solidarity with the Spanish people.

Later the Communist Party advanced the call for the National Council of Labor to call an emergency conference, and for the recall of Parliament which is on vacation. This call of the leader of the C.P.G.B. undoubtedly facilitated the further development of the campaign in support and defense of the Spanish people.

The steady stream of resolutions being printed in the *Daily Worker* goes to confirm the existence of real solidarity by the British workers with the fighting Spanish people. Characteristic in this regard is the resolution of the Aircraft Shop Stewards' National Council demanding that the government prevent the supply of airplanes to the rebels. If this is not done, action will be taken by the aircraft workers to enforce this demand.

The National Council of Labor appeal for funds to aid the Spanish fighters for democracy has met with a wide response. Donations to this fund include £1,000 from the Transport and General Workers' Union, £450 from the London Society of Compositors, etc., etc., and numerous small donations from individuals.

The demonstration organized by the Joint Council of Labor (and supported by the Communist Party) on August 16 mustered nearly 30,000 on Trafalgar Square.

Collections and solidarity meetings are taking place throughout the country, and united front action in this connection is being more and more frequently met with. Not only workers but also representatives of other sections of the population are being drawn into the united front.

FRANCE

The French General Confederation of Labor, which has now more than 4,000,000 members, sent a letter dated July 24 to the Spanish people and the Spanish General Confederation of Labor in which it expressed its admiration at the struggle of the Spanish people against reaction and fascism:

> "The General Confederation of Labor," it wrote, "assures the Spanish proletariat of its complete solidarity, and expresses its very profound confidence that the general mobilization of the toilers will bring victory over the insurgents and generals, the initiators of the *coup d'etat*. The Spanish people, who created the Spanish Republic, will assure its final victory over all enemies."

In its appeal of July 29 the General Confederation of Labor called upon all organizations affiliated to it to show their solidarity in deeds:

> "Our Spanish brothers who are defending the republic in the struggle against the criminal insurgent military clique deserve the sympathy and admiration of the toilers of France. Their cause is the cause of the proletariat of all countries who desire to live in freedom. A victory for the insurgents in Spain would as far as all the peoples are concerned mean the growth of the fascist danger, the fall of civilization and a threat to peace. It would represent a permanent threat to our country and republic. . . .
>
> "Solidarity must be active and real. Funds are wanted in order to assure that the population receive food supplies, the wounded cared for and the wounds of the civil war are healed."

The General Confederation of Labor is mobilizing all its followers to organize aid for the people of Spain, the Spanish working people who are struggling for freedom.

In one week the trade union organizations gathered more than 200,000 francs for the Spanish people. The collections are being carried out under the slogan: "The best way for the working people of France to help in defending world peace is by assisting the Spanish republicans." The metal workers of the Gnome et Rhone works decided to gather funds with which to buy and equip an airplane and appealed to all workers of the aviation industry for support.

Varied activity is being developed by the International Committee for the Struggle Against War and Fascism.

The Committee has begun to collect funds for wounded anti-fascists and for the families of those who have fallen. Representing the Committee, the writer Andre Malraux, its chairman, left for Spain, and was followed by a delegation consisting of the writers Jean Richard Bloch, Jean Cassou and the Secretary of the Committee, Conrad Ulrich.

The delegation visited more than 100 towns and villages. On returning to Paris the delegation spoke at two meetings of representatives of the press and of public organizations, regarding the struggle of the Spanish people. Cassou stated:

> "Spanish democrats are grieved and surprised that France is not unanimous in support of the republican system in Spain. Nonetheless, they place great hope upon the democratic masses of France."

In a number of appeals, the International Committee calls upon all friends of peace and liberty to express their fraternal solidarity with the Spanish people by meetings, demonstrations, resolutions, telegrams and the gathering of funds:

> "Do not allow the slanderous campaign to continue against those who are for the freedom of Spain. Use all means of propaganda to spread the truth about the heroic struggle of the Spanish people! Influence your governments to oppose any interference of the fascist states in the affairs of Spain, and to give extensive moral and material aid to the government of the Spanish people."

Following the proposal of the International Labor Defense, the Committee of the People's Front decided to organize a "People's Front Solidarity Commission to Aid the Spanish People". The commission will centralize the purchase and despatch to Spain of large quantities of medical supplies and food. In the middle of August the commission stated that the sum collected in France in aid of the Spanish people had reached 1,065,000 francs.

On July 24, more than 20,000 Paris workers celebrated the second anniversary of the conclusion of the agreement for united action between the Communist and the Socialist Parties. All the speakers called on the French people to display their solidarity with their Spanish brothers struggling for freedom. Duclos, Secretary of the Communist Party, emphasized the point that behind the insurgent officers who are murdering women, children and the aged, stands international fascism headed by Hilter. The French fascists, who are provoking bloody clashes in Northern Africa, are on the side of the murderers of the Spanish people. And our People's Front is on the side of the Spanish People's Front.

On July 30, 30,000 Parisians gathered at a meeting organized by the Committee of the People's Movement for Peace and Freedom (Amsterdam-Pleyel). Gilario Arlandis, of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, delivered greetings of the Spanish People's Front to the French People's Front. "We do not doubt", he said, "that the victory of the

People's Front in Spain is assured. . . . The struggle which we are carrying on is your struggle."

Solidarity meetings also took place in Toulouse, Tours and many other cities.

L'Humanité and *Populaire* sent their correspondents to Spain. They have already done much to expose the reactionary papers, which are reporting imaginary "Horrors of the Red Terror", and stating that in Barcelona and other localities power is in the hands of the "Soviets". Vaillant-Coutourier, on his return from Spain, declared the following in Parliament:

> "They wish to make you believe that Spain is in the hands of a Marxist, Socialist, Soviet government. This is absurd. In Spain there is a government of the People's Front, lawfully elected by the Spanish people, and this people is defending the Spanish Republic. . . ."

The Communist Party, the initiator and inspirer of the People's Front, is rallying the masses on a very wide scale in France for the defense of the Spanish people. The first slogan of the Communist Party of France after the outbreak of the uprising was unity of the People's Front both in Spain as well as in France.

In its appeal, published in *l'Humanité* on August 3, the Central Committee of the Communist Party made the following statement as to the international aspect of the uprising in Spain:

> "Through Spain they are aiming at France. . . . Hitler and Mussolini have given a thousand million francs to the Spanish rebels. This is why these scoundrels can still keep going despite the fact that the entire Spanish people are against them. . . .
>
> "It has already been proven that besides financial aid to the insurgents Hitler is resorting to direct intervention against Spain. The insurgents have received German planes and also a number of Italian planes of which three fell on the territory of French Morocco."

And further the appeal points out:

> "Such a policy of intervention cannot but disturb Frenchmen, who are anxious about the safety of their country, for if the followers of Hitler are victorious in Spain, France would be threatened not only from the Rhine but from the south and the Mediterranean."

The appeal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party ends with the following words:

> ". . . Not a single Frenchman can allow foreign intervention in Spain to violate the sovereignty of the Spanish government. Not a single Frenchman will tolerate Republican Spain being deprived of ordinary rights on questions of international relations. . . .
>
> "It is time to put an end to the activity of those who in

France have adopted the slogan of 'Heil Hitler'. Let the entire nation arise with indignation against the foreign agents, against the traitors, let the nation show those who are seeking for military adventures its desire for peace and the power of its determination.

"Let us, Frenchmen, unite against treachery, for France, for liberty, and peace!"

The Central Committee is untiringly exposing the slogan of "neutrality", advanced by the reactionaries.

The proposal of the government as to negotiations for the observance of neutrality in the Spanish situation was subjected to sharp criticism in the *Peuple*, on August 4:

"This neutrality of which Delbos boasts is a service to the Spanish fascists and their allies, the enemies of France. . . . The material aid given to the Spanish insurgents is without a doubt an act of hostility."

At a meeting attended by 6,000 members of the Paris organization of the Communist Party on August 6, Thorez stated that:

"The French fascists wish to prevent the lawful government of the Spanish Republic purchasing supplies in France in accordance with international law. To smash the insurgents who are being lavishly supplied with munitions by Hitler and Mussolini, our people demand in their own interests that the fighters battling in Spain on the front of liberty be assured the possibility of receiving the necessary materials. This is a debt of honor for everybody who calls himself a Frenchman."

THE U.S.A.

The sympathy of the American masses is unquestionably on the side of the Spanish people struggling against reaction and fascism. Of special interest is the movement among the large Spanish immigrant population in the United States. The Spanish people in New York formed a Spanish anti-fascist committee in which Communists, Socialists, syndicalists and representatives of other political parties and organizations participate. Considerable activity has been developed by this committee, such as meetings, leaflets, demonstrations, collections of money, etc. The committee organized a reception for the crew of the Spanish steamer Mega-anes who fought off an attempt by fascists to seize their vessel. At a ecial meeting arranged for these seamen, one of their representatives ld how at the time when they were fighting armed with the rifles from e ship's stores they called a meeting of sailors and passengers and ter a brief debate requested the captain to take the ship to New York ther than call at a Mediterranean port and risk losing their ship to e fascists. When the ship reached New York Spanish fascists had me on board and attempted to address the crew: "They left in a rry," said the sailor Swares Guellen, speaking at the mass meeting, nd the whole crew saw them off."

Similarly, when the Spanish ship Cristobal Colon was to leave for Spain a demonstration in honor of the People's Front was organized and the sailors given a militant send-off, the speakers wishing them a sweeping victory over the fascists when they get back to Spain.

The Spanish Workers Alliance, composed of various Spanish clubs, the most active group in the United Front Committee, sent a cable to the Spanish Premier in which they said:

> "We pledge our moral and material support to your cause, we wish you the speediest and overwhelming victory over fascism and reaction."

In answer they received the following cable from the Spanish Ministry:

> "Very grateful for your support to the government expressed in your cable of July 25 to the President of the Council of Ministers."

A broad united front movement on a local scale is being developed throughout the country. Especially outstanding is the united front that has been developed in New York and Chicago. In New York a united committee in support of the struggle against fascism has been formed in which representatives of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the United Anarchist groups, the Spanish United Front Committee and a host of trade unions have affiliated. This body is organizing collections of funds and calling meetings and demonstrations, the most important demonstration so far being on July 31 at which over 20,000 people demonstrated their solidarity with the Spanish people, and the following cables to Spain were sent to Largo Caballero, secretary of the General Confederation of Labor, Jose Diaz, general secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, Indilacio Prieto, chairman of the Spanish Socialist Party, and Pablo Durutti, Syndicalist leader:

> "Twenty thousand workers in New York pledge all possible support to heroic Spanish anti-fascist fighters. Hail anti-fascist and working class solidarity. Inspiration for international working class unity against fascism."

On the same day on which the demonstration took place in New York the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America contributed $5,000 each in support of the Spanish anti-fascists. They have announced a campaign to collect $100,000 to be used in support of the Spanish people.

The Furriers Union contributed $5,000 and many furriers pledged a day's wages. The New York District Council of the Painters' Union donated $100 and called upon their members to contribute to the fund for the Spanish fighters. The New York State Committee of the Communist Party contributed $8,000 to the trade union fund. The Workmen's Circle contributed $25,000.

In Tampa, Florida, a mass meeting in solidarity with the Spanish

anti-fascist forces was held. At this meeting, in addition to the speakers from the trade unions and other organizations, it was possible for a Communist to appear openly for the first time since 1931.

The Chicago Federation of Labor, one of the strongest labor bodies in the country, sent an official telegram expressing its solidarity in the struggle against Spanish fascism.

Not only in the cities but even among the farmers a movement in support of the Spanish People's Front is developing. Thus the Farmers National Holiday Association sent the following telegram to Spain:

> "American farmers applaud the People's Front which is crushing the fascist uprising."

The movement of solidarity is growing to such dimensions that most of the bourgeois papers and even many conservative papers are forced to come out with favorable news on the Spanish events or else to hide their attack against the people behind a position of "neutrality". The reactionary pro-fascist Hearst press has opened a vicious campaign of lies and slander against the Spanish People's Front, ascribing to the people all of the despicable actions of the fascists and playing upon religious feelings. The Communist Party of the United States answered this campaign of slander by widely exposing Hearst and put forward the following slogan: "Against the Spanish fascists, for the Spanish People's Front; Against Hearst and the American fascists, for the American united front in solidarity with the struggle of the Spanish people!"

The Fifteenth Anniversary of the Communist Party of China

By GEORGI DIMITROFF

DURING the fifteen years of its existence, the Communist Party of China has grown up into a powerful revolutionary Party, steeled in the fire of the Chinese revolution, into one of the best Sections of the Comintern, and has succeeded in establishing Soviet districts and the armed force of the revolution—the Red Army—which is displaying miracles of heroism, and which the seven campaigns of the enemy have not succeeded in breaking.

The Communist Party of China has achieved these successes in exceptionally difficult circumstances. As distinct from the Communist Parties in other countries, a double task has fallen to its lot, namely, that of acting as the ruling party in the Soviet districts, in a situation of uninterrupted armed struggle against the internal enemies of the Chinese people, and at the same time having to organize the masses in illegal conditions and lead their struggle in the remaining parts of China against the ruling militarist regime. Three-quarters of the members of the Party have not, for a number of years, let their arms out of their hands, and have been at the front all the time. Tens of thousands of the best sons of the Chinese people and, first and foremost, Communists and Young Communists have fallen in the struggle for the great cause of its liberation. A tremendous number of Chinese Communists have been thrown into jails by the reactionary generals.

If, in spite of all these difficult conditions and great sacrifices, the Communist Party of China has grown up into a powerful political force, it is due to the fact that it has deeply rooted connections with the Chinese people, that it is untiringly defending their interests, armed with the revolutionary theory of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, that it protects their unity as the apple of its eye, that it does not fear in Bolshevik fashion to reveal its own mistakes, that it learns from these mistakes, and opportunely corrects them, and that it does not allow alien elements to make their way into its ranks, sweeping away all kinds of capitulators and those who support the class enemy.

But as a real Bolshevik Party, the Communist Party of China realizes that however great the successes it has achieved, they are only the first serious steps on the road to the liberation of the Chinese people. And now it is exerting all its efforts to solve its most important historic task at the present stage, namely, that of becoming the pioneer in establishing a united national front against the Japanese plunderers, and of uniting the now divided forces of the Chinese people for the salvation of China against dismemberment and enslavement.

The efforts of the Communist Party, directed towards putting an end to the civil war in the country, and towards establishing collaboration with the Kuomintang and all other political groupings and armed forces

of China in the organization of resistance to the Japanese marauders, meet the sympathy, endorsement and support of the friends of the Chinese people throughout the whole world. The declaration of the Communist Party in favor of the establishment of a united all-China democratic republic, as the best means, in the present circumstances, of uniting all the forces of the Chinese people against their worst enemy, the Japanese fascist military clique, testifies to the fact that the Communist Party is taking account of the situation as it is, and is soberly outlining the tasks which correspond to the present stage of the liberation struggle in China.

The firmness and consistency of this line for the unification of all the forces of the Chinese people, of the line being pursued by the Communist Party, have also been proved by the fact that the Party, with a view to facilitating the establishment of a united national front, is introducing the necessary alterations into its policy in the Soviet districts, while at the same time continuing to strengthen the Soviets as the only centers of democracy in the country at the present time, and as the reliable support of the struggle of the Chinese people against the Japanese imperialists.

Tremendous difficulties face the Chinese Communist Party. The struggle against Japanese imperialism, armed as it is to the teeth—a crafty enemy which is cleverly dispersing the forces of China and making use of every internal struggle in this country for its own robber ends—requires tremendous efforts by the whole of the Chinese people, and first and foremost by the Communist Party.

The Communist Party has to expose the machinations of the Japanese provocateurs, to expose the thick network of Japanese intrigues to the whole of the Chinese people, and to isolate the agents of imperialism from the honest Chinese patriots who are sincerely desirous of protecting the independence and liberty of their native land.

The Party, basing itself on the will of the masses, is faced with the task of carrying on a systematic struggle to establish a united national front with the Kuomintang. This is no light task, for many of the leaders of the Kuomintang, and its military men and political workers, blinded with hatred of the Communists, give way to Japanese provocation, and instead of organizing resistance to the usurper, jointly with the Communist Party and Red Army, are wiping out the armed forces of China in a criminal war against the Red Army, and in internal conflicts among the generals. The Communist Party is faced with the task of mobilizing the public opinion of China, and of securing that all real Chinese patriots give up this policy which is ruinous for the national interests of China.

The Party is faced with the task of still further strengthening its connections with the masses of workers and peasants, with all toilers, with the working intellectuals by coming forward as the consistent defender of their elementary rights and urgent interests, and by mobilizing them for the struggle under the slogan of: "Clear the Japanese usurpers out of China."

The Party is faced with the task of unceasingly strengthening the Red Army, and raising its fighting power, for the stronger the Red Army

is, the quicker will a united Chinese National Army be set up, and the more successfully will the Chinese people be able to carry on the struggle against the offensive of the Japanese military clique, who are armed with the most advanced technique.

But there are also internal difficulties in the path of the Communist Party of China. It has to overcome the resistance of sectarian elements, who do not understand that in the present conditions the only way to secure the liberation of the Chinese people is that of establishing a united national front against the Japanese violators. It also has to carry on a struggle against the opportunist capitulators who are ready to sacrifice the political and organizational independence of the Party and the Red Army, and to dissolve them in other organizations and armies. The Communist Party of China, while loyally and honestly fulfilling its obligations according to the agreement undertaken by it regarding the struggle against the usurpers, does not intend to take either the path of blind faith in its allies, or the path of capitulation.

The Chinese Bolsheviks perfectly well understand that the basic condition for overcoming these difficulties is to strengthen the Party itself, its unity and iron discipline, all the more so since the enemies of the Party are, in the present situation, increasing their efforts tenfold so as to penetrate into the Party, to do it harm and to hinder the cause of the liberation of the Chinese people.

There can be no doubt that the Communist Party, which over the period of fifteen years has proved its loyalty to the masses of the people of China, and its ability to fight for the interests and liberation of the people, will overcome all difficulties and obstacles in its path, and will bring into being the united national front of the Chinese people against the Japanese fascist military clique.

The international proletariat are following the events in China with unflagging interest. They have repeatedly demonstrated their solidarity with the fighting Chinese people and the Communist Party of China. But at the moment when the direct menace of complete enslavement hangs over China, these usual manifestations of solidarity are insufficient. What is needed is to surround the Chinese people who are fighting for their liberty, with live sympathy and love, and with real moral and political support. It is necessary that energetic measures be taken to exert pressure on public opinion and the governments, first and foremost in England, France and the U.S.A., and to secure that all direct and indirect support of the robber plans and deeds of the Japanese fascist military clique is really abandoned. We must unceasingly brand —as a foul plot against peace, culture and democracy—the alliance between German fascism and the Japanese military clique, directed towards the dismemberment and enslavement of China and towards unloosing a new imperialist world war.

Let the celebration of the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Communist Party of China become a real impulse for mobilizing the forces of the whole of the international proletariat to render help to the Chinese people, for this great people are fighting for their independent national existence on one of the most important sectors of the world front of struggle against fascism and war.

Fifteen Years of Struggle for the Independence and Freedom of the Chinese People

By WANG MING

IN JULY-AUGUST of this year there took place the fifteenth anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party of China. At its First Congress (in 1921) the Party had only a few dozen members in its ranks. On the eve of the Revolution of 1925, *i.e.*, before the Shanghai events of May 20, there were 900 members in all in the Party. At the very height of the Revolution of 1925-27, the membership had already reached tens of thousands, (about 60,000 members). And now the Communist Party of China not only has hundreds of thousands of members, leading the Red Army and the Soviet Government in part of the country's territory, but stands forward as the initiator of the unification of the whole of the Chinese people for the struggle against the Japanese plunderers, and for the salvation of the fatherland.

In the course of fifteen years the Communist Party of China has grown from a small group of propagandists of Communism into a real mass political party.

Whence does the Communist Party draw its invincible power? The source of this power lies, first and foremost, in the unswerving struggle which the Communist Party, the Party of the most advanced and most revolutionary class, has carried on and is still carrying on for the fundamental interests of the whole of the Chinese people, for their national and social liberation. By this struggle the Communist Party has won for itself the confidence and support of the masses of the people.

China is a tremendous country, which in point of territory yields place only to the U.S.S.R. The Chinese people are the most numerous in the globe, constituting one-fifth of the world's population. In the nineteenth century, in the period of the development of capitalism in Europe and America, and its penetration to the East, China displayed its economic backwardness and in connection therewith its social and cultural backwardness. Because of this backwardness, we Chinese have been beaten by everybody. At first it was the English alone who beat us (the so-called Anglo-Chinese Opium War of 1842), then the English and the French (the so-called Anglo-French joint campaign against China in 1860), then we were beaten even by the little isle of Japan which had been educated on the thousand-year-old culture of the "Heavenly Empire", but which had lost its respect for its backward teacher (the so-called Japano-Chinese War of 1894). In 1900-1901 we Chinese were beaten jointly by the big and small imperialist plunderers from the East and West (the so-called joint campaign of the Eight Powers).

The rotten Manchurian dynasty at that time in power in China, with its degenerate army, was not in a position to offer up serious resistance to the foreign plunderers. But its anti-Chinese and anti-popular policy (reflected in the well-known saying: "better make a present to friendly states than give it to your domestic slaves") increased the oppression and favored the expansion of the foreign marauders in China. Fear of the bayonets of the foreign robbers drove the Manchurian dynasty to sign all kinds of unequal treaties, according to which China has paid and is still paying tremendous sums of war contributions, and opened up all the best sea and river ports for the free penetration of foreign capital and warships. China lost its customs autonomy, and handed over its rich mines as so-called concessions. The foreign robbers tore the living body of China to pieces, they seized hold of the best lands in China and established the so-called foreign concessions and settlements, which are de jure and de facto states within the state. China became transformed from an independent state into a semi-colony of foreign imperialist powers.

At the same time the productive forces of the country were held down by the most savage monarchist and feudal-bureaucratic regime. While the foremost capitalist countries passed through bourgeois revolutions and became democratic republics, a feudal militaristic regime took the place of the medieval darkness of the Manchurian absolutism. The Chinese people have been deprived until now of elementary human rights.

The economic backwardness, the national oppression of the people and the absence of political rights have brought China to such a miserable position where the overwhelming majority of the people live a semi-starved existence, while millions and millions of people die from so-called natural calamities such as floods, droughts, locust plagues, epidemics and crop failure.

The Chinese people have risen on more than one occasion to undertake the struggle for their liberation, and have passed through many stages in this struggle, such as the Taiping peasants' revolution (1850-65), the Boxer Revolt (1900), the Revolution of 1911 led by Sun Yat-sen, and the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movements (1919). But in 1920-1921 the young Communist Party took its place in the front ranks of those fighting for the interests of the Chinese people.

And the fifteen years of struggle of the Communist Party of China, in spite of the changes of the policy and tactics of the Party, depending on the change of the conditions at each stage of the Chinese revolution, are fundamentally fifteen years of struggle for the basic interests, for the independence, freedom and happiness of the Chinese people.

I. THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1925-1927 IN CHINA

The Communist Party defines its revolutionary strategy and tactics in each given country by making its starting point the national peculiarities, the economic, political, social, cultural and historical conditions of

the country, the concrete relation of class forces in the given domestic and international situation, the degree of the political consciousness, organization and fighting experience, and the interests of the masses of the people at each historic stage.

It is precisely for this reason that the Chinese Communists, while recognizing that only Soviet power and socialism can once and for all deliver the Chinese people from all oppression and exploitation, nonetheless understand the need for fighting for each step of progress made in the interests of the Chinese people. It is precisely for this reason that the Communist Party of China, in the early days of its existence when it constituted itself politically as the Party of the working class and set itself as the final aim of its struggle the establishment of communist society (at the First Congress which took place in July, 1921, in Shanghai), succeeded at the same time in drawing up a concrete program of action for the organization of a united democratic front (at the Second Congress which took place on the Western Lake in July, 1922), which corresponded at that time to the strivings of very wide sections of the people of China.

This political program which was adopted at the Second Congress of the Party was of tremendous historical importance. At the first stage of the Chinese revolution of 1925-26, the struggle of the masses of the people was *in the main* directed precisely towards the fulfillment of this program of action as adopted at the Second Congress of the Communist Party of China, and which included the following points: the struggle against imperialism and the feudal militarists, the struggle for a united democratic republic, for freedom of speech, assembly and the press, for universal suffrage, for the eight-hour working day, for rent reductions, and for the establishment of a single income tax, etc.

Soon afterwards, at its Third Congress (which took place in Canton in June, 1923), the Communist Party of China, under the guidance and with the aid of the Comintern, succeeded in drafting a concrete political and tactical line for the struggle to fulfill its political program of action. The basic content and essence of this political and tactical line was the organization of a *national united front* for the struggle against imperialism as the chief enemy of semi-colonial China.

Although, as a result of the treachery of the national bourgeoisie towards the interests of the people (in April, 1927), the tactics of the national united front did not produce the desired and necessary results, they roused millions of Chinese workers and peasants to political life. By their active participation and heroic conduct in all the big political events which took place at that period (the Shanghai events of May 20, the strike at Hongkong, the military expedition of the National Revolutionary Army against the "Paper Tigers" in Canton and Chen Chun-min in Dunzian, the northern expedition, and particularly the fierce struggles for the possession of Nanchang and Wuhan, the seizure by the workers of the British concessions in Hankow and Chuchan, the armed uprising of the workers of Shanghai against the militarists, etc.), the Chinese Communists proved in deeds to the whole people their unlimited

loyalty and their will to struggle for the independence, freedom and happiness of the Chinese people.

At the time when the national bourgeoisie left the revolution, the agrarian movement had developed into a powerful revolution of tens of millions of peasants. The Communist Party of China regarded the agrarian revolution as a means of rallying and drawing the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people, tens and hundreds of millions of peasants, into the national liberation struggle, without which a victorious struggle against imperialism is unthinkable. The Communist Party of China regarded the agrarian revolution as a means of rooting out of the feudal relics in China, of which the economic base is the large landowning system and the feudal exploitation of the peasants, and of which the political expression is the militaristic and bureaucratic regime.

This is why the Communist Party of China in the Wuhan period of the revolution not only announced the need for carrying through the agrarian revolution (at the Fifth Congress of the Party which took place in Wuhan in April-May, 1927), but also attempted to urge on the Wuhan Kuomintang to take the path of supporting the agrarian revolution of the peasantry.

Although the betrayal of the cause of the people by Wan Tsin-wei and the desertion of the revolution by the "Lefts" of the Kuomintang resulted in the revolutionary center of Wuhan becoming transformed, along with Nanking, into one of the centers of black reaction, none the less the masses of the working people of China became still more convinced on the basis of their own experience of the correctness of the Communists, and of the fact that the Communist Party of China is the only force consistently fighting for the liberation of the Chinese people.

The Revolution of 1925-27 in China met with severe defeat for the following reasons: (1) The forces of imperialism and feudalism proved at the given stage to be stronger than those of the revolution; (2) the treachery of the national bourgeoisie and the Kuomintang; (3) the mercenary character of the National Revolutionary Army, and the predominating influence of the land-owning and militarist elements among its commanding officers; and (4) this severe defeat was facilitated in no small degree by the opportunist mistakes of Chen Du-su and his supporters in the leadership of the Party, and first and foremost by their shameful and criminally neglectful attitude to the winning of the National Revolutionary Army and its commanding officers to the arming of the workers and peasants, and the establishment of real revolutionary troops with a Communist backbone.

With the aid of the Chinese bourgeoisie, imperialism and feudalism temporarily dealt a heavy blow at the national and social liberation of the Chinese people. However, in spite of terror and repression, and at the cost of tremendous sacrifices, the Chinese Communists again continued their work, in the most severe conditions, of organizing the masses of the people for the preparation for a new rise of the revolutionary struggle.

II. NINE YEARS OF STRUGGLE FOR SOVIET POWER IN CHINA

After the betrayal by the "Lefts" in the Kuomintang in Wuhan, there remained in the camp of the revolution the workers, peasants and urban poor. The temporarily victorious counter-revolution operated a ferocious White terror, a physical destruction of the revolutionary working people and their Communist leaders, such as history has never known. In reply to the ferocious White terror and the repression in the districts where the ground was prepared by the revolution, and where a fierce mass struggle was carried on by the workers and peasants, first and foremost in Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi and Kwantung, partisan warfare developed on a wide scale against the counter-revolutionary troops and the hated landowners. Centers of revolutionary revolt (in the autumn and winter of 1927) were quite numerous at that time.

But in the period of the waning of the revolutionary wave in the country, and in the period of ferocious reaction, only a few of these centers succeeded in withholding the onslaught of the enemy and in strengthening their position. This refers first and foremost to those districts where there were only peasant organizations and action, but there was a strong armed fist in the shape of the revolutionary troops headed by such talented politicians and military leaders as Comrades Mao Tse-dun, Chu Teh, Pen De-hwei, Huan Gun-neo, Ho Lun, Fan Chi-min and others. At the end of the autumn and the beginning of the winter of 1927, the first centers of Soviet power and the first detachments of the workers' and peasants' army began to be organized.

In spite of the heavy defeat of the Canton Commune, the banner of the Soviets that it raised became the banner of the struggle of millions of the working people of China. And this is why the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of China (August, 1928), which firmly established the *bourgeois democratic character of the given stage of the Chinese Revolution*, insofar as not a single one of the main tasks of the Revolution of 1925-27 (national independence, state unification, the abolition of feudal relics, the eight-hour working day, etc.), had been solved, called on the whole Party and the working people of China to carry on the struggle for Soviet power, as the only power capable of saving China.

From the end of 1927 until the spring of 1930 various Soviet centers, and various detachments of the young Red Army carried on what was mainly a defensive struggle, while the revolutionary wave throughout the country temporarily died down.

It was only following the summer of 1930, in connection with the beginning of a new revolutionary upsurge in the country, that the Soviet centers and the detachments of the Red Army began quickly to consolidate themselves and to extend. Although the "Left" line of Li Li-san temporarily did great damage to the development of the Soviet regions and the Red Army, the Party, on the basis of the decisions of the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee held at the beginning of 1921, over-

came both the Li Li-san and the counter-revolutionary Lo Chen-lun trends.*

During the course of three or four years, the main forces of the Red Army succeeded in establishing and consolidating their territorial basis over a considerable territory in the provinces of Kiangsi and Fukien, where the temporary Central government of the Chinese Soviet Republic was set up, elected by the First Congress of Soviets, with its Red capital in the city of Dzuitsian.

In the comparatively small territory of these central Soviet regions, in conditions where the civil war went on uninterruptedly for many years, accompanied by economic blockade from the side of the enemy, the Soviet government successfully carried through a number of political, economic and cultural measures for the benefit of the people, such as the best minds of the Chinese people had dreamt about over the course of thousands of years. These included the confiscation of the landowners' estates for the benefit of the landless peasants and those with little land; the abolition of the exactions by the militarists, and the introduction of a single progressive income tax; the provision of wide political rights for the working people; the introduction of the eight-hour working day; state assistance to the peasants in the shape of grain, cattle and implements, the organization of free education for all, etc.

For a number of years the badly armed and badly supplied young Red Army successfully beat off the six big military drives of Chiang Kai-shek, which were supported by the military technique, military specialists and finances of international imperialism. In spite of the fact that Chiang Kai-shek, with the aid of his hired military advisers, headed by the German General Seeckt, operated a plan of surrounding the Soviet regions and destroying the live personnel of the Red Army, the latter always succeeded in making its way out of the encirclement of the hostile coalitions, and in preserving its live personnel. In 1932 the 4th Red Army, surrounded by the numerically superior forces of the enemy, not only succeeded in beating its way through the blockade ring, but also in carrying through the heroic trek from Hupeh-Honan-Anwhei Soviet districts in Szechwan, and in establishing new Soviet districts there which were of tremendous importance for the further development of the 4th Army itself and for the concentration of all the main forces of the Red Army in the northwest of China.

At the end of 1934 the main forces of the Red Army in Kiangsi-Fukien were surrounded by an army numbering almost a million men, but nonetheless they succeeded in making their way out of the difficult situation. During the course of a year the Red Army carried through a

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* In the summer of 1930, a section of the members of the then Political Bureau of the C.P. of China, headed by Li Li-san, attempted, in opposition to the tactical line of the Comintern, to raise a premature armed uprising in all big towns in China and to immediately begin the premature introduction of socialism into the Soviet regions of that time (by the confiscation of all private property, the attempts to immediately establish collective farms, state farms, etc.). The followers of Li Li-san in practice operated a policy of liquidation not only in respect to the Y.C.L. and the trade unions, but even in respect to the Party itself, as the leading center in relation to all the mass revolutionary organizations. The Fourth Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P. of China (held on January 7, 1931) decisively condemned the adventurist and harmful line of Li Li-san, and the Right-opportunist, counter-revolutionary and liquidation line of Lo Chen-lun.

trek unheard of in history for its length (over 8,000 miles) from Fukien-Kiangsi to Shensi and Hansu, and there established new Soviet districts. In 1925 the "Pioneer Corps" (25th Corps) alone succeeded in the bitter winter in transferring from the Hupeh-Hunan region to the North Shensi Soviet region.

The main forces of the Red Army had to make their way through the territory of eleven provinces in China over unknown tracks, to cross high mountain ranges, to cross all the big and almost impassable rivers (the Yangtse, Utsiang, Tsinshangtsian, Daduho, etc.), in conditions which included a severe winter, hot summer, hunger, and being continually harried by the infantry and air forces of the enemy. At the beginning of 1936 the forces of the Red Army made their appearance in the province of Shensi, with the slogans of armed resistance to Japanese aggression in the north of China. The unheard-of and heroic trek of the Red Army called forth astonishment and respect not only among the friends of the Chinese people, but also among even some of its enemies.

Even Chan Tin-fu, a high official in the Nanking government, regards the successful heroic trek of the Red Army not only as proof of the invincibility and fighting power of the Chinese Communist Party, but also as "proof of the greatness and power of the Chinese nation".

All that the Chinese Soviets and the Red Army, led by the Communist Party, have achieved is undoubtedly not only the historic gain of the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese people, but is also a valuable addition to the treasury of the struggle of the world proletariat and the whole of mankind for Soviet power and communism.

The nine years' struggle of the Communist Party for Soviets and the results of this struggle are clear testimony to the fact that the Communist Party is the only Party in China which is true to the very end to the cause of the liberation of China and the Chinese people, and that it fears no difficulties or sacrifices, but carries on an unswerving struggle for this cause.

This struggle testifies to the fact that the workers and peasants in China, trained and organized by the Communist Party, can and know how to build their government and their army, and know how to manage the state not only better than all the Chinese militarists and bureaucrats, but also better than any of the so-called foremost liberal bourgeoisie.

The experience of the Soviet districts proves that the Chinese Communists not only know how to destroy all that is old, dark, rotten and hinders the progress of the Chinese people, but know how to establish and build a really new, bright and happy life, a new and just order for the Chinese people. If the Communists of China, possessing a small piece of the country's territory, with limited resources, with uninterrupted wars going on, and in face of an economic blockade, succeeded in doing something that the history of China has never known of before, then what miracles would not the Chinese people create in the political, economic and cultural life of China if the Communists were to receive state power throughout the whole of the tremendous country.

In the conditions of an extraordinary national crisis, the Commu-

nist Party of China, the Red Army and the Soviet districts have become the *national hope and national glory of the whole of the Chinese people.*

III. THE NEW SITUATION AND THE NEW POLICY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

The occupation of Manchuria by Japan in September, 1931, the war in Shanghai at the beginning of 1932, the occupation of Hupeh in the spring of 1933, the virtual seizure of Hupeh and Chahar in the autumn of 1935, the intense preparations for the seizure of Suiyuan, Shantung, Shensi and Fukien, the openly colonial robber policy of the Japanese marauders in the formally occupied and factually seized territory, the unrestrained Japanese contraband, and the feverish preparations for the complete fulfillment of the delirious ideas of the Tanaka Memorandum of 1927 (about the need for the colonial enslavement of the whole of China, the carrying on of a war against the U.S.S.R., America and Great Britain so as to win the hegemony over the whole of the Pacific seacoast and throughout the whole of the world)—all these facts of the aggression of the Japanese fascist military clique have called forth tremendous changes in the internal and external situation of China.

The external situation as far as China is concerned has changed first and foremost by reason of the fact that Japanese imperialism by its aggressive actions in China has not only on its own account torn up the Washington Nine-Power Pact of 1921, which at one time established in China the division of the spheres of influence of Japan, the U.S.A., Great Britain and other countries, but also created a direct menace to the interests of the U.S.A., Great Britain, France and other imperialist states which dominate the Philippine Islands, India, Indonesia, Australia, Indo-China and the whole of the Far East. This has led to a sharpening of the struggle between Japan and the U.S.A. and Great Britain, for China and the markets of the Pacific Coast.

The aggression of Japanese imperialism is changing the situation inside China. The Chinese people are faced with the dilemma of either offering up resistance to Japanese aggression, and then life, or else of not offering up this resistance, and then death for the whole nation and the whole of the state. This is calling forth a regrouping of the class forces fighting in China, and an urge for the unification of the various classes and sections of Chinese society, of political parties and groupings as well as their armed forces for the struggle against the common enemy.

This new external and internal historical situation demands of the Communist Party that it apply new tactics in the struggle for the independent freedom of the Chinese people. The new situation faces the C.P. of China with the most important, pressing, and great historical task of uniting the whole of the Chinese people for the struggle against Japanese imperialism, and to save their native land.

As is well known, the Communist Party, on the basis of the political line of the Seventh Congress of the C.I., drew up its new political line, which was expressed in the appeal of the C.C. of the Party and of the Central Soviet government, dated August 1 of last year, and addressed

to all the Chinese people, regarding resistance to Japanese aggression and the salvation of the fatherland.

In this appeal the Communist Party pointed to the only correct path of organizing the struggle, *i.e., the tactics of establishing a united national front against Japanese imperialism.*

In the same appeal the Communist Party proposed concrete forms of the establishment of a united national front of struggle against Japanese imperialism, beginning with joint partial action, and going as far as the joint formation of an all-China united anti-Japanese army, and an all-China government of national defense.

The idea of the need to establish such a united front as the most effective means for organizing resistance to Japanese aggression, and for the salvation of China, is finding more and more recognition among all sections of the Chinese people. This, however, does not mean at all that the line for the establishment of a united anti-Japanese national front has not met, and is not now meeting with serious opposition and objections from various sides. Facts go to show that not only various kinds of opponents oppose, from the Right and "Left", the slogans of the Communist Party regarding the organization of a united anti-Japanese national front, but even within the Communist Party itself this new policy is far from having been correctly understood by all comrades.

What is the essence and nature of the new political line of the Chinese Communist Party, directed towards the establishment of a united national front against the Japanese robbers?

First, the Party openly declares that it is striving to establish a united national front against Japanese imperialism, *and not an anti-imperialist united front in general.*

This means that the edge of the struggle of the Chinese people is directed exclusively against its mortal enemy at the given stage, the Japanese plunderers.

There are some people who criticize this policy of the Party "from the Left". They base their arguments on the decision of the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party, about the struggle against all imperialists, while others shout about "the need for simultaneously carrying on a national revolutionary war of the Chinese people against all imperialists", or that the "national revolutionary war of the Chinese people against Japanese imperialism must be the beginning of military action against all the imperialist states in China".

We have to reply as follows to the arguments of these "Left" phrasemongers:

The Sixth Congress of the Party took place in an entirely different situation than the present. At that time, in spite of the contradictions among the imperialist powers, they came forward in a united front against the Chinese people and the Chinese Revolution, whereas today the Japanese plunderers are menacing not only the national existence of the Chinese people, but at the same time the vital interests of the imperialist states competing with them.

In general the slogan as to the *struggle* against all imperialists is one thing, while the slogan of the *armed defense* of the Chinese people against the Japanese and all other imperialists is something different. The armed struggle against imperialism is one and only one of the various forms of the struggle of an oppressed people and, what is more, it is only an extreme form of this struggle.

Not a single people, including the Chinese people, desires war. If the so-called Japano-Chinese problems could be solved peacefully, the Chinese Communists would be the first to declare for the solution of these problems in this way.

But when an attempt is made to deprive the Chinese people of their elementary rights to an independent existence, they are compelled to defend themselves.

Hence it is clear that "Left" phrasemongers who shout about the need for carrying on an armed struggle of the Chinese people simultaneously against the Japanese and all the other imperialists are, whether they like it or not, *playing into the hands of the Japanese plunderers*, whose interests require precisely the isolation of the Chinese people from all possible direct and indirect allies in their anti-Japanese struggle.

Second, the Chinese Communists consider that the establishment of a united national front in China must concretely be expressed in the conclusion of a political agreement among the Communist Party, Kuomintang and other organizations on the basis of a general platform of struggle against the Japanese violators, while *preserving full political and organizational independence.*

For us Communists this means that while fighting for the establishment of a united national front we not only must not allow the slightest weakening of our Party and its organizations, but must strengthen it still further ideologically, politically and organizationally, and still further rally its forces and strengthen the unity in its ranks.

A determined struggle must therefore be carried on against the tendencies which may actually lead to the dissolution of the Communist Party in some sort of general political alliance of anti-Japanese forces, against the proposals to accept without discrimination into the Party all those who want to join, merely on the basis of the declaration of their desire to participate in the anti-Japanese struggle. The Party must carry on a determined struggle against those who are repeating the Right opportunist mistakes of Chen Du-su and others who in 1927 regarded the participation of the Communist Party in the united anti-Japanese national front as the rejection of our own Communist ideas and program, as the rejection of all criticism of our allies and temporary followers, and thereby as the rejection of the independence of the Communist Party, and the transformation of the working class and its Party into an obedient tool of the national bourgeoisie.

The all-round strengthening of the Communist Party of China is especially necessary now, because in the present situation the enemies of the working class and the Communist Party may attempt, and are attempting, to penetrate the ranks of the Party so as to do their dirty

work there, and undermine the unity of the Party from within. It is especially necessary to strengthen the Party for the further reason that the success of the policy of the united anti-Japanese national front, *the success of the liberation struggle of the Chinese people, depends first and foremost on the strength, unity, discipline and fighting power of the Communist Party itself.* The stronger and firmer the Communist Party is, the easier and quicker it will be to establish a united national front, and the more assured will be the success of the national liberation struggle of the Chinese people against the Japanese plunderers. Hence it is clear that the further consolidation and strengthening of the Communist Party are demanded by the interests not only of the Communist Party itself and also of the working class, but also by the interests of the whole of the Chinese people.

Some people say that the policy of the Communist Party, which is directed towards the establishment of a united anti-Japanese national front, is unreal and impracticable, since there are actually two big political parties in China, the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, between which an historical enmity exists, and that therefore there can be no talk of any sort of united front whatsoever.

The Communist Party of China sets the interests of the Chinese people above all other considerations. Now, when a tremendous national crisis is in being, what is needed is the unification of all forces for the struggle against the common enemy. It is untrue that only an historic enmity has existed between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang. Actually there have been not only nine years of enmity between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, but almost nine years of close collaboration (from 1919 when the first Communist groups arose in China, until the spring and autumn of 1927).

The Communists should not place the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek in the same category as the Japanese plunderers, since the Japanese fascist military clique is the main enemy of the Chinese people, and it is the struggle against it to which everything must be subordinated at the present stage. In addition, we cannot regard the whole of the Kuomintang and all its troops as allies and hirelings of Japanese imperialism. It is clear to the Chinese Communist Party that a real and serious armed resistance to the Japanese plunderers requires the participation of it of the Kuomintang troops, or the decisive majority of them.

The Chinese Communists do not propose to fall into the trap set by the Japanese depredators who are provoking fratricidal war among the Chinese people for their own mercenary ends. They are honestly and duly striving to unite all the forces of the people for the struggle against the foreign oppressors. The line of the Party, therefore, of establishing united anti-Japanese national front with the Kuomintang and other organizations, is *not a maneuver or an empty declaration,* but a *sincere, honest and real policy of saving the people and the fatherland.*

As regards the attitude of the Kuomintang to the policy of the Communist Party which is directed towards the establishment of a united anti-Japanese national front, we must note, first and foremost,

that it is untrue to assert that the whole of the Kuomintang does not desire to establish such a united front with the Communists. The Kuomintang is an organization whose influence covers millions of people, and of course among these millions there are tremendous numbers of honest people and honest patriots who really love their people and their native land, who are really true to the best traditions of Sun Yat-sen and his behests regarding the need for a struggle for equality and liberty for China, patriots who cannot but feel the oppression and shame inflicted on the Chinese people, and who cannot but incline toward the idea of establishing a united anti-Japanese front of the whole of the Chinese people.

Among the followers of the Kuomintang there are tens of thousands of students in the Wang Poo and other military colleges; many of them remember the glorious traditions of the Revolution of 1925-1927, and to this day dream of a struggle in defense of the interests of the state and the people. Among the commanding officers of the troops, among the party and state officials of the Kuomintang there are many honest people and patriots who hate the Japanese robbers, and are prepared to undertake a life-and-death struggle against them. And even among important Kuomintang politicians, military and public men, there are quite a few people who, for tens of years, fought together with Sun Yat-sen in the ranks of the National Revolutionaries, people who proudly call to mind the past of the Kuomintang in the revolutionary times, and who are sad at heart at the present policy and state of the Kuomintang, and the position of the country and the people.

Among certain Kuomintang officials there are quite a number who make their starting point the simple but correct argument that the Communists are sons of the Chinese people, while the Japanese are not only foreigners, but also oppressors—and who consider that it is better to fight alongside the Communists of their own country against the foreign oppressors than to tolerate the foreign yoke and the mockery of their people and their country, and all the more, of course, do they consider that one ought not to fight together with foreigners against the sons and daughters of the Chinese people, even though they be Communists.

The local organizations of the Kuomintang and certain groups of the Kuomintang outside and inside China have already begun to adhere to the united anti-Japanese front, along with the Communists and the supporters of the Chinese National Revolutionary League and other organizations. And especially important is the fact that in Manchuria and Hupeh the followers of the Kuomintang frequently fight shoulder to shoulder with the Communists in partisan warfare against the Japanese occupationists. The tendency towards the establishment of a united anti-Japanese front with the Chinese Communists and the Red Army, and particularly towards the restoration of the so-called three revolutionary political instructions of Sun Yat-sen (*i.e.*, an alliance with the U.S.S.R., an alliance with the Communist Party, and support for the workers' and peasants' mass movement) is developing with ever-

growing strength among the followers of the Kuomintang, both among the leadership and the rank and file.

It is true that, along with this, we are aware of the following other facts and tendencies: A section of very influential leaders and officials of the Kuomintang is still wavering, and is still afraid of establishing a united front with the Communists for the struggle against Japanese aggression. And we are sorry to have to state that it is precisely this tendency which still has predominating influence in the Kuomintang, and therefore the united anti-Japanese front between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party has not yet been established.

But history teaches us that the fate of nations is decided not by the will and desires of individual personalities, but by the interests and will of millions of people. There are not a few examples in the history of nations where the will of the millions has compelled individual leaders to act in spite of and against their own personal desires, by facing them with the choice of *either going with the masses, and then remaining at their posts, or else of becoming isolated from the masses, which means an end to their political life.* As regards the above-mentioned Kuomintang officials we Communists not only place our hopes on the strength of the action of the law of history, but would like that they themselves in their own interests and in the interests of the people change their attitude to the question of the establishment of a united front against the Japanese violators.

There are some people who will object to the line of the Communist Party for the establishment of a united national front, by declaring that we allegedly are desirous of repeating the old opportunist mistakes committed by Chen Du-su in the revolution of 1927, which served as one of the main reasons for the defeat of the revolution, and which were condemned by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of China.

In answer to such an attempt to make a blind comparison, which is characteristic of sectarians and "learned folk", the Chinese Communists give the following reply:

It is incorrect because the tactics of the united national front at the first stage of the revolution in the colonial and dependent countries in general, and at the first stage of the revolution in China in particular, when the edge of the revolution is directed against imperialism, and when the national bourgeoisie still support the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, are *necessary and obligatory tactics.* The experience and very fact of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 go to prove that it is precisely due to these tactics of the young Communist Party that China has succeeded in educating and organizing millions and tens of millions of workers and peasants, and in leading the peasantry to the agrarian revolution.

The Sixth Congress of the Comintern, and the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of China not only did not condemn the tactics of the united anti-imperialist national front operated by the Communist Party in the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, but on the contrary endorsed

them, and recognized the valuable lessons arising out of them. They only condemned the mistakes of Chen Du-su and his supporters, who in opportunist fashion distorted the tactics of the united anti-imperialist front and transformed them from tactics of joint action with the national bourgeoisie against the common enemy, imperialism, in the interests of the Chinese people into tactics of subordinating the proletariat and the working people to the interests of the national bourgeoisie—one of the reasons of the defeat of the Revolution of 1927 in China.

In 1928, when the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and the Sixth Congress of the C.P. of China took place, the revolutionary wave in China died down. The national bourgeoisie seized hold of the Kuomintang Party, left the revolution and passed over into the camp of the counter-revolution. The petty bourgeoisie temporarily left the active revolutionary struggle. The Communist Party based itself, and only could base itself, on the workers, peasants and urban poor. The united front was destroyed not by the Communist Party but by the national bourgeoisie and the Kuomintang Party, which hoped to arrive at an agreement with the imperialists.

Now, however, Japanese aggression threatens not only the toilers and the petty bourgeoisie but also a considerable section of the national bourgeoisie in China. In this state of affairs, while continuing to base itself on the working class and the peasantry, the Communist Party is in duty bound at the same time to make use of every effort at resistance maturing among other sections of Chinese society.

Besides, the united front at the present time is being created on an entirely *new* basis. The Party, which has become a mass party, *bases itself in its struggle for the united front on the Red Army and the Soviet regions.*

This is why the Communist Party, in adopting the tactics of establishing a united anti-Japanese front with the Kuomintang and other organizations, is by no means repeating the mistakes of Chen Du-su in the Revolution of 1927.

Third, the united national front presupposes the establishment of a united All-China anti-Japanese army, which must be established on the basis of a political agreement between the Red Army, the Kuomintang, and other troops, for the joint armed defense of the country against Japanese imperialism.

While each body participating in this army will be responsible for a definite sector of the common front, and will subordinate itself to the general command in the fulfillment of the general military plan, it will wholly and completely maintain its political and organizational system, its commanding and political officers. In the interests of the liberation struggle, the Chinese Communist Party cannot agree to dissolve the Red Army among the Nanking troops, for this would mean the liquidation of the most reliable armed force of the Chinese people, and would only be of benefit to the Japanese robbers.

The Chinese Communists must take clear account of the fact that in the struggle to establish a united all-China army to defend China

gainst the Japanese military clique, the Communist Party must not nly not allow for one minute any weakening to take place in the fight- ng power of the Red Army but, on the contrary, it must strengthen nd consolidate its might, its monolithic character and discipline to a reater extent than at any time before. The *stronger the Red Army is, he easier and quicker it will be to achieve success in regard to the stablishment of a united all-China anti-Japanese army.*

The first necessary condition for the establishment of such an army nd for the organization of serious armed resistance to the Japanese narauders is the cessation of the civil war between the Nanking troops nd the Red Army in China. Unless war is stopped between these two iggest military forces, there can be no question of a really united all- hina anti-Japanese army, or of serious and successful armed resistance o Japanese imperialism.

For it should be borne in mind that if the Nanking government and ne Kuomintang also always send the majority of their troops and xpend the lion's share of their income on war against the Red Army, nen what sort of really serious preparation for a war on Japan can ney carry on? And if the Red Army is compelled to beat off the endless ilitary drives of Chiang Kai-shek, then from whence can it take the rces and means for an armed struggle against Japanese imperialism? nd if these two big military forces in China carry on warfare be- ween themselves, whence can the Chinese people secure sufficiently rong armed forces to resist the Japanese marauders?

It is precisely in making their starting point this practical situa- on and the interests of the Chinese people that the Chinese Communists e determinedly opposed to the ruinous policy of certain Kuomintang aders, who say that "an end must first be put to the enemy at home, nd then we shall settle accounts with the enemy from without", and ho insist on the continuation of the civil war, thereby in fact giving o resistance to the aggression of Japan in China.

The Chinese Communist Party puts forward the slogans of "Clear e Japanese usurpers out of China", "Cease all civil war and all inter- ecine war and unify all the forces of the Chinese people for resistance Japan", "The Chinese do not fight against the Chinese", and "Chinese oops do not fight against Chinese troops".

Making their starting point the need for unifying all Chinese troops r the struggle against Japanese aggression, the Red Army and its aders, Comrade Mao Tse-dun, Chu Teh and others, have repeatedly, nce 1933 and especially in August, 1935, appealed and now appeal to e Kuomintang troops and their commander-in-chief Chiang Kai-shek cease their offensive on the Soviet regions, and to conclude a militant reement for a joint struggle against Japanese imperialism. And in ite of the fact that in reply to these proposals made by the Red Army iang Kai-shek and the command of the Nanking troops continue eir military action against the Red Army, the latter is striving at all sts to bring about the establishment of a united anti-Japanese national

fighting front with the Nanking troops of the Kuomintang and other troops in China.

Like the whole of the Chinese people, the Red Army of China is honestly desirous of putting an end to all internal warfare. The Communist Party and the Chinese people not only desire to put an immediate end to the war between the Red Army and the Kuomintang troops, but also demand an end to the internecine warfare between the various groupings within the Kuomintang as, for instance, between Chiang Kai-shek and the Southwest. In the present circumstances all internecine warfare in China facilitates the dark and dirty action of the Japanese plunderers. Witness of this is most clearly provided by the openly provocative action of the Japanese plunderers in the armed conflict between Nanking and the Southwest.

Some people object to the establishment of a united anti-Japanese front between the Red Army and the Nanking troops by pointing out that the Chinese Communists cannot have anything in common with their old enemy Chiang Kai-shek. In reply to this argument we have to state that Chiang Kai-shek and we are not personal enemies. Our enmity arises out of the difference in our views on all main questions of the political life of China. The Chinese Communists defend the interests of the people, while Chiang Kai-shek is pursuing a policy to the detriment of those interests. In this connection, if Chiang Kai-shek were today to come to an agreement with us to carry on a joint struggle in defense of the Chinese people against the alien violators, then why should not the Chinese Communist Party establish a united front with Chiang Kai-shek in the interests of the struggle against the common enemy?

Fourth, the united national front presupposes the establishment of an all-China government of national defense which should be representative of all parties and organizations belonging to the united anti-Japanese national front. This means that such a government must really be an all-China state authority, taking serious care of the defense of the country, defending its land and people against the encroachment of a foreign state, and fighting to drive the Japanese plunderers out of China. This government must be a government not of any single party or grouping, but a government of the national front, *i.e.*, a government in which there participate all parties and organizations belonging to the anti-Japanese national front, or a section of these parties and organizations, depending on the general conditions and interests of the liberation struggle of the Chinese people, and the desires of each of these parties and organizations.

IV. THE SLOGAN OF A UNITED ALL-CHINA DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

In this connection the question logically arises as to what should be done in the future with the existing authorities in China, such as for instance the Central Soviet government, the Nanking Central government, and the formally local governments, which are really not subordinate to any central authority. In reply to this the Communist Party of China states that it will only be possible to put an end to the

political and administrative dismemberment of China and to do away with all the existing local governments in the country if an all-China democratic republic is established, and an all-China Parliament is called together which will organize a real all-China government.

The question may be asked as to whether in this case Chinese Communists will pursue their struggle for Soviets and a Soviet government in China.

The Chinese Communists are firmly convinced that only Soviets can save the Chinese people and the whole of mankind. The practical experience of the U.S.S.R. wholly and completely proves that only Soviets can transform a country which is economically, politically and culturally backward into an advanced, rich, free and cultured country. Only Soviets can give the people a real socialist democracy such as the draft of the new Stalinist Constitution is giving the U.S.S.R. The best sons and daughters of the Chinese people have laid down their lives in the struggle for Soviet power in China. The practical experience of the Soviet districts has shown the superiority of Soviet power over all feudal, monarchist and militaristic-bureaucratic regimes such as the thousand-year history of China has known.

In spite of all this the Chinese Communists, who make their starting point the interests of the Chinese people, take account of the fact that the Soviet districts as yet occupy a comparatively small section of the territory of China, that a considerable section of the Chinese people are not yet for Soviet power, and especially take account of the point that the unheard-of menace of enslavement which hangs over the Chinese people urgently demands that ways and means be found of uniting the national and democratic forces of the whole of the Chinese people for a joint struggle against the common enemy, the Japanese marauders.

Taking all this into account the Chinese Communist Party declares its readiness to support the *establishment of a united all-Chinese people's democratic republic with an all-China parliament, called together on the basis of universal suffrage, and an all-China government of national defense. In the present circumstances this will be the best way of uniting all the national and democratic forces of the Chinese people to resist the aggression of China and to save the fatherland.*

What is meant by a really united all-China democratic republic? It is a republic which will be able to lead China out of its condition of political and administrative dismemberment, of militarist wars, and will be able to do away with feudal oppression, and establish order and peace in the country. Such a republic can serve as a basis for unifying, rallying and organizing all the material and human resources of China and of the great Chinese people for the struggle against the external enemy. It is a republic which really defends the interests of the people and not the interests of merchant-parasites, a republic in which the will of the people should predominate and not the license and self-assumed power of military dictators.

The Communist Party of China is for a really democratic republic in which the people enjoy democratic rights and liberties—the right to

work and education, the inviolability of the person, property, and dwelling, freedom of speech, the press, organization, strikes, demonstrations, religious belief and anti-religious propaganda, etc.

The all-China parliament elected on the basis of universal suffrage must be really representative of the whole of the Chinese people without any racial, national, class, political, party and religious limitations. It will thereby be distinguished from the advisory and legislative organs of the Kuomintang, which are in fact appointed by its Executive Committee (the so-called National Assembly in Nanking in 1931, or the National Assembly which it is proposed will assemble in November, 1936, in Nanking). It will thereby also be distinguished from all the previous parliaments in China, particularly from the parliaments under the government of Huan Shi-kai or Tsoi Kun and Wu Pei-fu, when the parliamentary elections took place in circumstances of unheard-of bribery, trickery and violence.

An all-China parliament of a united all-China democratic republic is necessary because this parliament, as the most authoritative and generally recognized representative organ of the whole of the Chinese people, must review, discuss and adopt the corresponding decisions and laws regarding the main questions of foreign and domestic policy, and must draw up and adopt the fundamental law, the constitution of the united all-China democratic republic. The Chinese people today really need a constitution, but they do not need the sort of constitution such as, for instance, will be presented by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang at the National Assembly called for November, which both formally and in fact is not the constitution of the Chinese people, but only the constitution of the Kuomintang itself.

The Chinese people need a constitution which guarantees the interests and rights of the whole of the Chinese people.

The Chinese Communists declare that *if* a united all-China democratic republic is established, a parliament elected on the basis of universal suffrage is called together, and an all-China government of national defense is formed, then *the Soviet districts, respecting the will of the majority of the Chinese people, will become part of this united democratic republic, will participate in the all-China parliament, and are ready to introduce the same kind of political and administrative regime on their territory as will be established for the whole of China.*

However, *prior* to the establishment of such a republic, the Chinese Communist Party will not only not permit for one single moment *any weakening of the power of the Soviets* as the power of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, a power directed in the first instance against the Japanese imperialists, but will strive with all the strength in its power to strengthen its authority and fighting power by extending connections and contact with the widest masses of the people. Prior to the establishment of such a republic, the Chinese Communists will strengthen the Soviets, because the Soviets today are the only power of the people and center of democracy, because the Soviets today are the unifying center in the struggle of the Chinese

people to establish a united anti-Japanese national front, to establish a united all-China people's democratic republic, and will serve as one of the most reliable supports of this republic.

On learning of the line of the Communist Party for the establishment of a united all-China democratic republic, certain bourgeois intellectuals and liberal bourgeois in China are beginning to talk about the "victory of democracy over Communism". In reply to this we have to say the following:

"Gentlemen, you do not understand, or you pretend that you do not understand the attitude of the Communists towards democracy. You are absolutely incorrect when you assert that the Communists everywhere and at all times are in principle against any kind of democracy, and that they are only in favor of dictatorship. It is true that the Communists criticize bourgeois democracy, and declare themselves in favor of Soviets as being real democracy for the overwhelming majority of the people, but at the same time the Communists are in the front ranks of those who defend the conquests of bourgeois democracy against attacks and encroachments by the forces of medieval obscurantism and fascism. And our glorious brother Parties in France and Spain have given, and are continuing to give incontestable proof of this by their heroic struggle for the People's Front and in defense of the republic against fascism."

We tell these bourgeois intellectuals and liberal bourgeoisie the following: "If you really are democrats, then cease your naive chatter about some sort of 'victory of democracy over communism', and let us fight together with all the democratic forces of the Chinese people for the establishment of a united all-China people's democratic republic".

* * *

The Chinese Communist Party is pursuing a firm and unwavering line for the establishment of a united national front against Japanese imperialism. It is trying to bring this about just as our brother Communist Parties in France and Spain have already achieved the united and People's Fronts. Yet it should be borne in mind that not so long ago, when Comrade Dimitroff and the delegates of the Communist Party of France and of the Communist Party of Spain spoke at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern about the policy of establishing the united and People's Front, and especially about a government of the People's Front in these countries, there were people who laughed this policy to scorn, and accused the Communists of maneuvering and of utopianism. But what has practical experience shown in these countries? Not only the united front of the working class and the People's Front against fascism and war have become a fact in these countries, but governments have been established in these countries which have adopted the platform of the People's Front. Our comrades in Spain as in France are proving their consistency and loyalty in the struggle to establish the united front, the People's Front and government of the People's Front. The Spanish comrades are defending with their lives the Spanish Re-

public, and the independence and liberty of the Spanish people, and are fighting in the front lines alongside of Republicans, Social-Democrats and Syndicalists against the traitors to and enemies of the people, namely, the fascist insurgents, the agents of Hitler and Mussolini in Spain.

The success of the Chinese Communist Party is ensured by the fact that the Chinese people support the Communists and have faith in them. The Communists are flesh of the flesh and bone of the bone of the Chinese people; they are their most loyal sons and daughters, and the most devoted defenders of their interests.

The policy of the Communist Party is the generalization and concrete expression of the will and strivings of the masses of the people at each given historical phase. The Communist Party of China is absolutely certain of the support and confidence in its new policy by the whole people, and this support and confidence is the most important guarantee of victory.

The liberation struggle of the Chinese people which is indissolubly connected with the world struggle of the proletariat and of the peoples of all countries against imperialist war and fascism, and for peace and liberty, is meeting with the sympathy and support not only of the supporters of the Comintern but also of the Socialist workers, not only of the working class and toilers generally, but also of all opponents of war and supporters of peace in all countries.

The success of the Communist Party is assured by the fact that during fifteen years of heroic struggle, in the most difficult circumstances of illegal work and civil war, it has hammered out thousands and tens of thousands of steeled and loyal fighters, has hammered out cadres of talented Party and mass leaders, cadres of talented statesmen and legendary military leaders. The loyalty of these cadres, and their ability and experience, are the most important guarantee of victory.

Finally, the success of the new policy of the Chinese Communist Party is assured by the fact that the liberation struggle of the Chinese people is led by the Leninist Communist International, at whose helm stands the tried comrade-in-arms of the great Stalin, the banner-bearer of the struggle against fascism and war, the pride of the world Communist movement, our own Dimitroff. This struggle is led by the International which is inspired by the one who faithfully continues the work of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the genius and strategist of the world revolution, the leader and teacher of toiling mankind, the banner of the victory of world communism, our Stalin.

Reminiscences of the First Congress of the Communist Party of China

By CHEN PAN-TSU

IN THE second half of July, 1921, nine guests unexpectedly arrived at a private Ladies' School in Pubalu Street on the territory of the French Concession in Shanghai. They all settled in the top story of this school. On the ground floor, there was nobody with the exception of the cook who was at the same time the watchman, since the students and teachers had left for their summer holidays. On instructions from an acquaintance, the watchman prepared dinners for the newly arrived guests every day. In addition to this it was his task to see that no outsiders entered the school. If his acquaintance had not explained who the guests were, he would not have known, since he did not understand their dialect, and there was nobody among the visitors who spoke the Shanghai dialect. Some of them spoke the Hunan dialect, others the Hupeh dialect, while others spoke the Peking dialect.

The arrivals were the representatives of the Communist circles of various districts in China. They came to Shanghai with a view to officially organizing the Communist Party of China. Among these nine people there were Mao Tse-dun and Ho Shu-hen, representatives of the Communist group in Chansha (Hunan province), Dun Bi-oo and myself, representatives of the Communist group of Wuhan; Wan Tsin-mei and Den En-min, representatives from Tsinani (province of Shandun). At that time Wan and Den were very lively and capable young men. Later Comrade Wan died, the tremendously heavy work undermining him, while Den was arrested and died in jail. The delegate from Peping was Liu Zhen-tsin, who later became a Trotskyist and was expelled from the Party. He is now working in a special Police Department of the Kuomintang, fulfilling special tasks connected with the struggle against the Communists. The representative from Canton was Bao Hwei-shen, who later became a renegade, and capitulated to the Kuomintang. He now has the support of Cho Fu-hei, who is now an important Kuomintang leader, but at that time, in 1921, Cho Fu-hei represented the Communist group of Chinese emigrant students in Japan, at the first Congress of the Communist Party of China. Later in the Canton period Cho Fu-hei was expelled from the Party for his anti-Party activities.

Altogether, thirteen delegates attended the first Congress. In addition to the above-mentioned nine people the Congress was attended by Chan Ho-tao from Peiping, Li Han-tsin and Li Da from Shanghai. At the Fourth Congress of the Party Li Han-tsin was expelled from the Party for consistently defending a Right opportunist point of view, and being linked up with the Beiyan militarists. After the treachery of the

Wuhan government Li Han-tsin was shot by the Anwhei militarists. As regards Li Da, he proved to be outside the ranks of the Communist Party after the movement of May 30, having got scared by the stormy development of the revolutionary wave. The second representative from Canton was Chen Chun-bo, who after the uprising of Chen Tsu-min against Sun Yat-sen helped Chen in the struggle against Sun. After repeated warnings, Chen Chun-bo was finally expelled from the Party, and soon became an important Kuomintang official.

The leader of the liquidators, Chen Du-su, did not attend the first Congress. At that time he was in Canton as Minister of Education under Chen Tsu-min. After the first Congress, Chen Du-su was in the leadership of the Communist Party of China for a long time. In the critical days of the Revolution of 1925-27, he betrayed the cause of the revolution by his capitulatory policy.

The First Congress of the C.P. of China was opened at the end of July. The organization of the Congress was a very simple one. Comrade Chan Ho-tao was elected chairman, while the secretaries were Mao Tse-dun and Cho Fuo-hai. The Congress opened in the above-mentioned school, while the work of the Congress itself took place in Li Han-tsin's apartment. The Congress lasted four days. The following questions were discussed there: (1) the current political situation; (2) the basic tasks of the Party; (3) the Party statutes; and (4) organizational questions.

During the discussion of these questions, serious disagreements arose, particularly on the question of the basic tasks of the Party and organizational principles. On the one hand a tendency of legal Marxists headed by Li Han-tsin came to the fore, which considered that the Chinese proletariat was too young and did not understand the ideas of Marxism, and required a lengthy period of propagandist and educational work. On this basis Li Han-tsin did not consider it necessary to establish a real proletarian party, and declared himself against the dictatorship of the proletariat, and for bourgeois democracy.

He asserted that it was possible within the bounds of bourgeois democracy legally to organize and educate the proletariat, that therefore there was no reason for immediately proceeding to build up workers' trade union organizations, and that it would be better to direct all our strength to the development of the student movement and cultural educational work. Li Han-tsin declared that what was first of all necessary was really to organize the intellectuals, and arm them with Marxist theory, and then when Marxism had won the minds of the intellectuals, it would be possible with their assistance to set about organizing and educating the workers. Therefore, he did not consider it necessary to have a disciplined and fighting party of the proletariat, and as against that proposed the unification of the advanced intellectuals, and a legal organization of a wide peaceful party to occupy itself with the study of the theory of Marxism.

Making this his starting point, he came to the conclusion that anybody who recognizes and spreads the principles of Marxism may be a member of the Party. He considered that it was not obligatory for a

member to belong to a definite party organization and to take part in its practical work. The line of Li Han-tsin was also supported by Li Da and Chen Chun-bo.

Another line was an extremely "Left" one. It was headed by Lu Chen-tsin, who considered the dictatorship of the proletariat to be the immediate aim of the struggle, and opposed all legal forms of work. He relegated the whole of the intelligentsia to the role of ideological representatives of the bourgeoisie, and considered it necessary as a rule to refuse to accept them into the Party. Bao Hwei-shen also declared himself in agreement with this point of view.

The majority of the delegates of the Congress opposed both incorrect points of view. At last the general line was accepted, in which the main task of the Party was recognized to be the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. In defining the tactics of the struggle in the transition period, it was pointed out that the Party not only cannot reject but, on the contrary, must actively call on the proletariat to take part in and to lead the bourgeois democratic movement as well. The line was adopted demanding the organization of a militant and disciplined Party of the proletariat. The development of the trade union movement was put forward as a central task of the work of the Communist Party. In relation to legal forms of work, it was stated that the Party should make use of them under definite circumstances beneficial to the proletariat. As regards the organizational principles and conditions of the acceptance of membership to the Party, it was decided to make use of the experience of the Russian Bolshevik Party.

The adoption of these lines laid the basis for the establishment of a Bolshevik Party in China. The final endorsement of the Party statutes was transferred to the fourth day of the Congress. On this day, however, after supper, when the delegates gathered together at 8 o'clock in the evening in Li Han-tsin's apartment, and the chairman announced the continuation of the work of the Congress, a suspicious person in a long coat appeared in a neighboring room. Li Han-tsin went along to find out who was the unknown. This person replied that he was seeking for the chairman of the Association of Social Organizations, Wan by name, and then said he was mistaken and speedily left. It is true that the Association of Social Organizations was three houses away from Li Han-tsin's apartment, but everybody knew that it had no chairman, and least of all one named Wan. The appearance of this person appeared suspicious to us, and so we quickly gathered together our documents and disappeared. Only Li Han-tsin and Chen Chun-bo stayed behind, and it was a fact that before ten minutes had passed after our departure, nine spies and policemen turned up at Li Han-tsin's apartment to institute a search. Apart from legal Marxist literature, they found nothing there, and were therefore unable to arrest anybody.

Each one of us, however, had to search for a night's lodging. We could not return to the Ladies' School, since we presumed that spies had discovered our Congress by traces leading from the school.

At the beginning we counted on finishing the work of the Congress

in seven days, but in connection with this incident it was decided to cut the time down to five days. However, we could not find a suitable place in which to continue the work of the Congress in Shanghai. It was decided to move to Sihu (the Western Lake) in Hanchow, but before our departure we came to the conclusion that Sihu was not a suitable place, since many holiday-makers come there. We therefore decided on Naihu, which is close to Tsiasin, 300 li away from Shanghai. Lovers of nature also come to this place, but in smaller numbers. When we arrived at this place we hired a big boat, bought food and wine, and carried through the work of the Congress in a boat, under the guise of having an outing on the lake.

This was the last day of the Congress. Li Han-tsin and Chen Chun-bo did not attend on this day, since a watch was kept on them after the search had taken place. The weather that day was dull. However, many holiday-makers appeared after 8 o'clock. And this, of course, made our work more difficult. At half past nine a light rain began. The holiday-makers departed and this made it easier for us to continue our work in peace. We discussed the questions facing us during the whole day, until 11 o'clock at night. Apart from the final endorsement of the Party statutes, we discussed the question of our attitude towards Sun Yat-sen, the question of the establishment of a temporary Central Bureau of the Party, and then carried through the elections to the Bureau. The question of Sun Yat-sen gave rise to a small discussion. Bao Hwei-shen considered that the Communist Party and Sun Yat-sen represented two diametrically opposed classes, between which there could be no compromises, and therefore the attitude towards Sun Yat-sen must be the same as towards the Beiyan militarists, and even still more negative, since he confused the masses by his demagogy. This conception was rejected by the delegates of the Congress. The following line was adopted towards this question: In general a critical attitude must be adopted towards the teachings of Sun Yat-sen, but his various practical and progressive actions should be supported, by adopting forms of non-Party collaboration. The adoption of this principle laid the basis for further collaboration between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang and for the development of the anti-militarist and anti-imperialist movement.

At the time of the First Congress there were, apart from the Communist circles of Chinese emigre students in Japan and France, circles in only Shanghai, Canton, Shansha, Wuhan and Tsinan. In Nanking, Chendu and Hanchow there were individual Communists. At that time there were, all told, a few dozen Communists. In view of this it was decided not to organize an official Central Committee, but to establish a Central Bureau of the Party to maintain contacts with the various nuclei. The Party was called the Communist Party of China.

The following were elected as members of the temporary Bureau: Chan Ho-tao, Chen Du-su, and Li Da, with the following as reserves: Cho Fu-hei, Li Han-tsin and Lu Zhen-tsin.

That is how the First Congress of the C.P. of China ended. That was how the great Communist Party of China, which stands at the

ad of the Chinese Revolution and is leading the struggle for the tional and social liberation of the Chinese people, came into being.

Although the Communist Party is not very old (it is altogether teen years old), it has already passed through numerous serious tests the struggle, and has made huge sacrifices. Soon after its foundation, e Party led the Canton-Hongkong sailors' strike which has become rld famed, a strike of railwaymen on the Peking-Hankow Railway, and general strike of Kailan miners. In all these struggles the Communist rty grew and gathered strength to such an extent that it was able organize the movement of May 30, to win the hegemony in the great inese Revolution, to organize the Hongkong strike which lasted six- n months, to carry through three uprisings in Shanghai, and to bring ut the historic Canton uprising which laid the basis for the Soviet volution in China.

After the betrayal of the revolution by the Kuomintang, tens of usands of rank-and-file members and leading workers of the Commu- t Party and innumerable workers and peasants fell victims to the omintang regime. It was on the blood of these who perished for the ry of the revolution that the heroic Red Army of China grew, and the le Soviet territory was established. The Chinese Communist Party now fighting, in the conditions of an unheard-of national crisis, for unification of all anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces, so as to ng about final victory in the struggle for the national and social eration of the Chinese people.

On the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the Communist ty of China, its new policy, a policy of an all-national united front in struggle against Japanese imperialism for the salvation of the ntry, met with a hearty response from among wide masses of the nese people. The anti-Japanese struggle now developing will inevitably end further and become transformed into a great historic struggle.

The ideological struggle within the Communist Party has furthered development, consolidation and bolshevization. As far back as the st Congress, the traditions of a correct struggle inside the Party e laid down. The First Congress decisively opposed Menshevism and ultra-Left deviation. The August Conference fought against the ortunism of Chen Du-su. The Sixth Congress carried on a struggle inst opportunism and putschism. The Fourth Plenum of the C.C. ght against the Li Li-san trend, against those who were conciliatory ards it and against the Right followers of Lo Chan-lun. This struggle the Party along the road of bolshevization.

During the last fifteen years of the stormy development of the Chi- e Revolution, many of the old members of the Communist Party have en in the difficult and heroic struggle for the cause of the revolution. ers have turned traitors and passed into the camp of the counter- olution. Of those who joined the Communist Party at the time of First Congress, very few now remain in the ranks of the Party. new forces grew up after the First Congress. The best leaders of our ty, Soviets and the Red Army, who have become steeled in the

struggle inside and outside the Party—Mao Tse-dun, Chu Teh and others—are at the present time leading the great historic struggle of the Chinese people.

During its First Congress, the Communist Party had no organizational links with the Comintern, but its general line and its organizational principles were built after the fashion of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin. At the Second Congress of the Communist Party it was officially decided to join the Comintern. Since that time the whole of the life, struggle and policy of the Communist Party of China, the development and consolidation of the Chinese Red Army and Soviets, have been taking place with the direct support and under the leadership of the Comintern. It is precisely for this reason that the respect, confidence and loyalty of the Communist Party of China to the Comintern are increasing, growing and gathering strength along with the growth of the Communist Party itself.

An Agent of Fascism

By ERNST FISCHER

MANY years ago a young Communist deputy delivered his maiden speech in the French Chamber, directed against colonial oppression; the interval, Briand, the Foreign Minister, approached him and said: 'oung man, you have made a good speech, but on the wrong side of e Chamber; in a few years' time you will move over to the Right." iand had a special gift for detecting renegades. His prophecy came ue; the young man not only betrayed his class, he betrayed his country, d became not only a supporter of the French counter-revolution, but agent of German fascism. His name is Jacques Doriot.

Elected Mayor of St. Denis by the votes of the reactionaries he be-me the darling of the *Voelkischer Beobachter*. Doriot founded a new ty: the French People's Party ("Parti Populaire Francaise"). One the first to congratulate him was the correspondent of the *Voelkischer obachter*, Kurt Ilefeld, regarding whom it is not clear whether jour-ism is his main profession, and his Gestapo (Secret Police) work is a e line, or vice versa. This Ilefeld obtained an interview with Doriot, Mayor of St. Denis, and in an elaborately written article re-red to him as a "front-rank fighter" against Communism, against the iet Union, against the masses of the French people who had rallied he People's Front. Doriot deserved this shameful praise; already in ober, 1935, he gave an interview to one of Hitler's journalists in which stated that an alliance between France and fascist Germany against scow was in his opinion necessary.

As is well known Hitler never revised the place in his book *Mein npf* ("My Struggle") where he declared that he considered the de-action of France as an essential and component part of German policy. the renegade Doriot went still further in his interview; he assured French people that the German fascists were their friends; that the ger only comes from Moscow. Such words were balm to the German igators of war, who are stubbornly trying to persuade the world the Soviet Union is a menace to world peace. Germany, they declare, nly arming because it wants to preserve peace, it is only for this on that it is sending armored cruisers to the Mediterranean Sea, it is threatening Danzig and Czechoslovakia, that it speaks of the l for pushing towards the East, and that it refuses to adhere to an tern Pact with the U.S.S.R. It is therefore quite understandable why *Voelkischer Beobachter* refers to Doriot as a "front-rank fighter" it is no less understandable why the French working people, and all st Frenchmen, look upon him as one of the most contemptible of all gades.

Nevertheless, the French counter-revolutionaries are trying to make of him. The "Baronesses and Marquises are in ecstasies about Doriot

and believe in him", writes the Basle *National Zeitung*. The male members of the 200 families apparently regard him rather more soberly; but like their ladies, they are especially attracted by his working class origin, his Communist past, in short, by the fact that he is a renegade.

The feudal Colonel de la Rocque, leader of the Croix de Feu, has already begun to pall somewhat; the old guard of the counter-revolution is already tolerably worn out. Perhaps it may be possible to give some new life to the fascist movement with the help of the renegade, who has such a nice way of telling horrible stories about Moscow, and who has such fine broad shoulders (Kurt Ilefeld noted this in his interview, no doubt as a connoisseur of manly beauty). The Basle *National Zeitung* reports these views of the 200 families who have started off on the search for a new political marionette.

> "Doriot would never have been brought to the forefront had his name been connected with a respectable bourgeois past and military people. The thing that attracts his new friends—and they are the only ones that count, and not the old guard of St. Denis, whom we would like to compare to the people who gathered around Drechsler in the Munich days of Hitler's life—what attracts them to him is his proletarian origin, his revolutionary past, his desertion of Marxism and the International.
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> "What is expected of Doriot at the moment? Firstly, that he will replace the leaders of the Right wing, who have been thrown on the scrap heap because of their weakness, and he will collect together the scattered forces. It is more likely, by the way, that he will only make things worse. Second, that he will draw away from the People's Front and win over leading elements who correspond to about 300,000-400,000 French voters. It is in this task that there lies the real practical meaning of the experiment begun by Doriot. If the business is successful, then Doriot may nourish the most brilliant hopes for the future. But in our opinion it is absolutely impossible for him to be successful—Doriot is still at the very bottom of the ladder."

No! Doriot is already at the beginning of the end. His "big future" is already behind him. The ecstasy of the Baronesses and Marquises, his political promotion by the 200 families, will be of little avail. It is with aversion that the French people will fling off this creature of German fascism. And nothing will save Doriot from the people's scorn. He will win supporters possibly from the old, somewhat shabby and worn-out leaders of the counter-revolution; if the new party grows up it will likely be at the expense of the Croix de Feu and other similar organizations. But one fine day the 200 families, the Baronesses and Marquises, will carelessly and spitefully throw out the lackey who is incapable of fulfilling their desires. Jacques Doriot will then be able to petition the fascist government of Germany for his right to receive a pension as a careerist without a career, as a ridiculous figure, boosted by the *Voelkischer Beobachter*.

The Olympic Torches in the Hands of the Warmongers

By K. ROLPH

N JANUARY, 1933, the Hitlerites organized an original torch race n Berlin. The torches were distributed in the palace of Goering, the ussian Prime Minister; under the guidance of Helldorf and Heines, ehm and Ernst(the Brown torch-bearers stealthily made their way ough the subterranean entrance connecting the palace with the Reich- g building. In half an hour the Reichstag building was burning like natchbox. Hitler, Georing and Goebbels immediately appeared on the t, as though the fascist fortune-teller Hanzen, who was afterwards rdered, had prophesied to them that something unusual would happen t night in the Reichstag. Hitler immediately informed the foreign rnalists that this fire was the "signal" for the rebirth of Germany.

A wild terror began, accompanied by the murder of Communists and ialists; the gigantic torch of the burning Reichstag lit up the path he National-Socialists to the bloodiest and foulest autocracy in the le of the world's history. The majority of Hitler's torch-bearers were rwards murdered by the fascists themselves. The fascists do not to be reminded of the subterranean entrances through which they ied the torches of the "Third Empire".

And now German fascism has once again organized a torch-race. s time the torch was not being carried through the subterranean sages which link Goering's palace to the Reichstag building; this time comedy for which it was lighted is called the "Olympic Games". When fascist torch-bearers set fire to the Reichstag, the fascists stated that would give Germany domestic peace; tens of thousands have been ured, murdered and shot "while attempting to escape", while hun- ls of thousands have been thrown into jails and concentration camps, wiped out with methodical ferocity. The people are enslaved, de- ed of elementary rights and buried under a mountain of arms—such the peace which settled over Germany after Hitler seized power. Now rman fascism states that it will give peace to the entire world.

The effect of the comedy staged by the fascists should not be under- mated. Mistakes were made in the large-scale staging of the Reich- fire; first and foremost, the stage managers were unexpectedly d with the fact that standing his trial before the Leipzig Imperial t stood our Comrade Dimitroff, a powerful opponent, who exposed the cious face of fascism to the entire world. Since then the Brown in- iaries have learned a thing or two. And now the Hitlerites are g everything in their power in order to prove that despite the pre- e of German battleships in Valencia, and German airmen in Mo- , despite the attack against Danzig and Czechoslovakia, what they

have in their hands is not the torch of war, but the torch of peace. All the details have been prepared and the Gestapo is taking care to ensure that no cracks should appear in the facade which has been raised in view of the great influx of foreigners, through which the terrible reality of Germany may make its way. It is sufficient to read the instructions given on July 5 in the *Angriff*, Goebbel's paper, to those who are to accept foreign guests. There it is stated:

> ". . . we shall be more fascinating than the Parisians, we shall have more leisure than the Viennese, we shall display higher spirits than the Romans, more knowledge of the world than Londoners, and shall be more practical than the inhabitants of New York. . . . By our personal care of our guests and our attentive attitude to all their needs, we shall each one of us individually assist in winning supporters for Germany—and this is what this summer devoted to the foreigners must result in without fail. . . . It depends upon us to add the hospitality of the Germans to the beauty of the German landscape, so that a good impression may be turned into the best one. We must surpass each other in hospitality. This will make it possible for each one to set up his own personal record at the Olympics."

Involuntarily one thinks of the implacable ferocity with which modern capitalism permanently demands a smile from the poorly paid salesmen and women; anyone who cannot give a happy smile is thrown out into the street. The oppressed German people were obligingly, vivaciously and with well-bred politeness, to show the foreigners Hitler's goods, labeled peace.

In order to make the fulfillment of this task easier for the "kinsmen" ("Volk genossen") receiving guests, and to impress it on their minds that they must be happy, the fascist secret police, the Gestapo, placed at their disposal the most reliable people, while the fascist party proved it would only be pleasant for each one receiving guests to have the valuable assistance of "an old fighter". The hosts receiving foreign guests had to tell them that Germany is a country of smiles. How monstrous it sounds, especially now it has become known that immediately following the conclusion of the Olympiad Captain Wolfgang Hunster, the one who built the very "Olympic Village" where the participants in the Olympiad lived, has shot himself. The reason for the suicide is dismissal because of "non-Aryan origin".

The Olympic torch, the torch of humanity, peace and freedom, in Hitler Germany? The great German people are worthy of bearing this torch which shed its light on their noblest minds, and the flames of which continue to burn unquenchably in the works of Lessing and Herder, Goethe and Schiller, Bach and Beethoven. But *in the hand of the Brown dictators, every torch becomes one which sets fire to the Reichstag and bonfires of books, a torch of war and vandalism.*

The friends of Hitler in Budapest, and his followers in Vienna, greeted the torch of the Brown Olympiad not at all as a symbol of peace. In Budapest there were meetings at which the martial cry for the resto-

tion of greater Hungary was sounded, while in Vienna demonstrations Hitlerites took place at which the Anschluss with fascist Germany as acclaimed. And at the very time when the Olympics began in Berlin, hen the "Marseillaise" was even played in honor of the French guests he *Angriff* by the way, gave the embarrassed explanation that the arseillaise "has nothing in common with revolution"), German fascism as, with Italian fascism, preparing for military intervention in Spain; that very time its agents were threatening Czechoslovakia with in-lculable consequences if she remains true to the peace front, its ppets in Danzig were preparing for complete unification, and its fol-wers continued to carry the torch of war through subterranean pas-ges over the entire world, in order to start a much bigger fire—the e of a new world war.

> "At the time when the peril of Communism weighs throughout the world, even in the United States, it is really a great good that Father Coughlin has lifted so high and so efficaciously a voice to make the people remember that only in the social teachings of the church lie real security and safety for every nation." (Quoted from *The New York Times*, July 26, 1936.)

Father Coughlin comes forward as a 100 per cent American, who has no other concern than that of "saving" the United States, but his Bishop now in Rome appraised the international mission of this fascist priest, and pointed out that it is a question of "real security and safety for *every* nation". At the time when ever wider masses of the Catholic working people are being inspired by the idea of the people's front against war and fascism, the Vatican is trying to unite all the forces of reaction in the struggle against "Communism", *i.e.*, in actuality, against the freedom and peace of the peoples.

Fascism is beginning to organize itself in the United States as well, and the Vatican is trying to join in this process in good time. Even if American fascism sometimes takes on a strange appearance, even if some people think that this mixture of quackery and propaganda, obscure statements and adventurism, cannot be taken seriously, let it be remembered that nowhere has fascism begun its career in any other way: that is how Hitler and Mussolini started. It is necessary therefore to view the danger in good time and to mobilize the masses against it in good time.

The task is patiently and popularly to explain to the masses all the falsity of the demagogy of the radio priest, to speak of the fate of the German working class and to remind them of the "social justice" of which the concentration camps and the jails in which hundreds of thousands of anti-fascist workers of all currents—Catholics, Social-Democrats and Communists—are languishing, are the embodiment.

Itsikava—Hero of the Japanese People

By OKANO

"At this trial I have tried to open the eyes of the people to the crimes of our rulers. We have carried on a stubborn struggle till now, and we Communists will continue to fight."

SUCH was the statement made openly by the prisoner at the bar, surrounded by police armed to the teeth. From the dock he fearlessly exposed the crimes of the bourgeoisie and landowners, and disclosed the class character of the justice which had thrown thousands of working people into jail "in the name of the Emperor". Several times the judge and the prosecutor made vain attempts to interrupt his speech. Although his health was shattered by long periods of illegal work, followed by jail and torture, he displayed remarkable hardihood and stamina.

All this took place in a semi-feudal, barbaric court of justice in Japan where such bold statements always involved torture and merciless sentences. People using expressions of this sort must possess extraordinary heroism, fearlessness and an unshakable belief in the victory of the proletariat.

Who was the man, who so fearlessly flung in the teeth of the judicial bigwigs the remark: "You are the house dogs of the militarists and the monarchy"? He was the leader of the Communist Party of Japan, Itsikava Sioitsi, the last of the accused brought to court among two hundred leading officials of the Communist Party.

The heroic behavior of Itsikava and of many other Communists before the court created a tremendous impression on the working class of Japan, and did much to heighten the prestige of the Japanese Communist Party in the eyes of large sections of the working people. It was also a mighty impulse stimulating the heroic struggle of the Communist Party of Japan against the predatory war waged by Japanese imperialism in Manchuria, which broke out two months after the trial.

In July and August last year, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International took place in Moscow. In the list of members of the Executive Committee of the Communist International elected by the Congress, along with the glorious names of Thaelmann and Rakosi, stands the name of Itsikava, sentenced to hard labor for life. This is the highest honor a Communist can have, and he earned it by the life he had led and the fight he had carried on.

* * *

Comrade Itsikava was born in the provinces in 1892 in a petty-bourgeois family, and after graduating from the University took up

journalism. While still in the University he joined the Marxists, and organized a small Marxist circle of intellectuals. The great Socialist October Revolution of 1917 in Russia, and the "rice riots" which broke out throughout Japan finally settled his views which led him to the camp of Communism. Comrade Itsikava was the organizer of the first Communist circles in Japan, one of the founders and builders of the Japanese Communist Party. In 1922 he was one of the editors of the *Musankaikiu* ("Proletariat"), a Communist paper, and at the same time carried on propaganda work in the heart of the working masses, particularly among the printing workers in Tokyo who at that time belonged to the most revolutionary elements of the country.

In the same year, as soon as the Communist Party came into being in Japan under the leadership of our deceased leader Comrade Katayama, Itsikava joined it and gave himself entirely to the task of building it up.

However, he did not get the chance to carry on his work for long because he was arrested in June, 1932, along with thirty other Communists. In those days Itsikava already showed himself to be a revolutionary of exceptionally great stamina, and stubbornly refused to make any kind of statements to the police. After holding Itsikava in jail for seven months, the Japanese police were obliged to release him for lack of evidence.

On coming out of prison Comrade Itsikava undertook an irreconcilable struggle against the Right liquidators, the "Yamakavists"* who were trying to disrupt the Communist Party from within. Itsikava developed his propagandist activity on a wide scale. To him, incidentally, belongs an excellent Japanese translation of Engel's book *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*. In 1926, after the defeat of the liquidators, Itsikava was elected member of the Central Committee and editor of the Party's legal popular newspaper, the *Musansya Simbun* ("Proletarian Paper"). In 1926 and 1927 when the Party was faced by a new danger, on this occasion from the "Left" opportunists, the so-called "Fukumotoism",** Itsikava was the first to take up the fight against it.

By his Bolshevik adherence to principle, and his steadfastness, by his boundless devotion to the Party, Comrade Itsikava gained tremendous prestige among the foremost workers of Japan, and the Party elected him Secretary of the C.C. At this post he led and developed the fight to convert the Japanese Communist Party into a mass Bolshevik Party. During the Parliamentary elections of February, 1928, the Communist Party of Japan entered the wide arena of political struggle, and its authority among the masses began to grow quickly.

In reply to this, the ruling classes made a furious attack on the Communist Party. On March 15, 1928, more than 1,000 Communists were arrested by the police. Comrade Itsikava Sioitsi was among the leading officials of the Party who managed to slip out of the clutches of the

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* Yamakava—leader of the Right opportunists.

** Fukumoto—leader of the "Left" opportunists.

lice. He now began the life of an underground Party worker. The entral Committee elected him member of the delegation to the Sixth ngress of the Communist International which was held in the sum- er of 1928. In order to get to Moscow and back illegally from Tokyo ceptional stamina and boldness were required, for he had to slip rough a thick net of police and spies. Itsikava was successful in this sk. He was the first to bring to Japan the resolutions of the Sixth orld Congress, and to popularize them among the masses. He also did emendous service in reorganizing and strengthening the Communist rty of Japan. In deepest illegality he guided the restoration of the ganizations which had been smashed. As a result, the Communist Party t only quickly recovered from the tremendous loss caused by the ar- sts of March 15, but in a short time was again able to win the active pport of the workers and the poor peasantry.

The feverish activity of Itsikava in illegality was interrupted by s arrest in April, 1929. Then began his prolonged and heroic struggle jail. One must know what the Japanese police and what a Japanese l are like in order to estimate the magnificance of this struggle. The rkers and peasants of Japan are entirely devoid of any protection from e outrages and tyranny of the police.

Torture is part of the police system. Comrades Ivata and Yeda, mbers of the C.C., Comrade Nero, Secretary of the C.C., Comrade bayashi, the famous proletarian author, and many others were tor- ed to death a few days after their arrest. This took place in the pital, in the headquarters of the Tokyo police. Not long ago the panese police admitted that Comrade Banibutsi, an official of a legal de union, died under torture. The *Manchester Guardian* wrote (July 1934) that even Mr. Bickerton, a British subject suspected of fin- cial assistance to the Communist Party of Japan, was tortured. And was in the hands of these monsters that Comrade Itsikava fell. And to at tortures the police resorted in order physically and spiritually to eak this outstanding leader of the Japanese revolutionary movement! ey tortured him day and night for two months. But all their tortures d torments were fruitless: Not a word could they get out of Itsikava. e worker who chanced to witness the tortures to which Itsikava was jected said that all the prisoners in that police prison were pro- ndly touched by the unyielding heroism of Itsikava. The witness ished his account of Itsikava with the following words: "It do not ow what Communism is, but if the Party is led by such a hero, then must be a good Party."

* * *

The heroism of Itsikava and his supreme fidelity to the Party and Japanese people were finally expressed in his behavior and his eches in court in 1931 and 1932. The trial of Itsikava and his Party rades was held two and half years after they had been arrested. The . of the C.P.J. instructed Itsikava to relate in court, when it opened

in July, 1931, the history of the ten years of the Party's struggle which was little known to the masses or reached the masses in distorted form. This was no easy matter, because, while in jail, Itsikava could not avail himself of any printed or written matter for his speech; furthermore his speech before the court was interrupted time and again by the judge, the prosecuting counsel, and the police who were afraid of the masses getting to know the truth. To carry out this instruction successfully, Itsikava had to have not only a fundamental knowledge of Leninism, but the ability to maneuver before the court. Comrade Itsikava splendidly coped with this important and difficult task.

At the trial Comrade Itsikava from accused became accuser. He made the prisoner's dock into a revolutionary tribune. At the first trial Comrade Itsikava carried out his Party task: to relate the history of the Party's ten years struggle in the form of evidence. This speech lasted for eight sessions. For eight sessions, under the guise of giving evidence, Itsikava exposed the bourgeois slander against the Communist Party, and carried on fiery propaganda of the views of the Communist Party, the views of the Communist International. And the stupefied judges were obliged to listen to the accusations of the "accused". It is true they tried to shut his mouth more than once. Itsikava's speech* was interrupted time and again by the President of the Court. We will quote episodes of this struggle.

AT THE SESSION OF JULY 23, 1931

"ITSIKAVA: At the present time the danger of war (July, 1931) is getting nearer and nearer. Soon it will be August 1, Anti-War Day. The workers of the world under the banner of the Communist Party through mass demonstrations of protest must struggle against imperialist war.

"If war begins the proletariat must overthrow the bourgeois government and change imperialist war into civil war. This idea must be made popular among the workers and peasants of all countries."

"PRESIDENT OF THE COURT (Banging on his desk and shouting): If the speech is accompanied by this sort of propaganda and agitation, I shall have to close the doors!"

"ITSIKAVA: I am not in the least engaging in propaganda. I am only telling you what work the Communist Party has been doing."

AT THE SAME SESSION

"ITSIKAVA: Now I will go on to deal with the 'rice riots'."

"PRESIDENT OF THE COURT: If you talk of the rice riots, you will be prosecuted."

"ITSIKAVA (Smiling): How dreadful to be brought to court again! (Continues to speak of the rice riots.)"

AT THE SESSION OF JULY 25

"ITSIKAVA: During the earthquake (1923) the government on the one hand passed a law safeguarding the interests of the

* This speech was printed in the Japanese language in the journal *Proletarian Science*, November, 1931.

bourgeoisie and on the other applied predatory measures in relation to the oppressed people."

"PRESIDENT OF THE COURT: This is nothing but propaganda."

"ITSIKAVA: I have not the slightest intention of engaging in propaganda."

"PRESIDENT OF THE COURT: It comes out as propaganda whether you intend it or not. If you don't stop, I will clear the court. (Declares intermission.)"

AT THE SESSION OF JULY 28

Comrade Itsikava relates the conditions under which the Sixth ongress of the Comintern assembled:

"The Japanese Communist Party, existing under conditions of bestial White terror, delegated several persons to the Congress. The presence at this Congress for the first time of several representatives of the Japanese Communist Party speaks of the extraordinary growth of the C.P.J. I have no need to reply to the question whether I attended. [The President of the Court asked if Comrade Itsikava was present at the Sixth Congress.] The Sixth Congress of the Comintern after long and heated discussion adopted the program of the Comintern and theses on a number of questions. The Japanese delegates, together with comrades from all countries, took an active part in the discussion and drawing up of the theses and program. The Congress, which devoted attention to the growth of the revolutionary movement in Japan in the theses on the international situation . . ."

"PRESIDENT OF THE COURT: I will not allow you to say what was in them."

"ITSIKAVA: The Japanese delegation at the Congress, utilizing every minute available, discussed the Japanese question. Then the decision was taken that the Party had to be made a mass Party. . . ."

"PRESIDENT OF THE COURT: You are speaking of that again. If you start once more I will clear the court. . . . Wouldn't you like to give new instructions to the world outside through this court?"

"ITSIKAVA: We have fought stubbornly and we will continue to fight stubbornly against this gagging."

And actually Comrade Itsikava utilized the trial of the Communists only for revolutionary propaganda, but for ideological political help he Communist Party.

* * *

The trial of the Communists reached its culminating point a year r in July, 1932, at the final session. The prosecuting attorney de- ided for the 179 Communists sentences of imprisonment to a total ,054 years and the death sentence for one. The workers replied to demand with mass struggle. The workers of forty-one enterprises he Northern district of Tokyo protested against the decision of the t. Ten factories in the southern district of Tokyo held meetings of est. Mass demonstrations were held on the streets of the capital.

There was also a demonstration of peasants in Miiya. Thousands of telegrams of protest poured into the court from all corners of the country, all demanding the immediate release of the leaders of the Communist Party. The environs of the court were literally under martial law. Machine-guns were set up near the court building. Police and gendarmes patrolled around. This was the atmosphere in which Itsikava said his last word before the court.

In his speech Comrade Itsikava attacked with all his power the Trotskyist theory that the bourgeois democratic stage of the revolution inevitable in Japan could be passed over, and explained in a popular way why it is necessary to overthrow the monarchy in the first place.

> "In the words of an old popular proverb", said Comrade Itsikava, "if you want to shoot a captain, first shoot at his horse.
>
> "The monarchist system is the horse. The order of capitalist private property is the captain. The bourgeoisie oppress the workers and peasants, and sit on the horse which is called the monarchy. That is why if we would kill the captain, the order of capitalist private property, we must do everything in our power to kill its horse first—overthrow the monarchy.
>
> "But we will not stop at this. Suppose the captain has fallen from his horse, he will not die there and then. The captain who has been unhorsed has to have his head chopped off, or else nothing will come of it. That is why when we have overthrown the monarchy we must go further—namely, smash the order of capitalist private property, the capitalist system. . . .
>
> "In his indictment the prosecutor asserts that we are criminals. But against whom, strictly speaking, are the Communists criminals? Against whom is it a crime to overthrow the reactionary, counter-revolutionary monarchy which has deprived the masses of the workers and peasants, who compose 90 per cent of the people, of every liberty, and which has bound the masses of the people with the iron chain of slavery? Whose enemies are those who come forth against the instigators of imperialist war, who drive the masses of the workers and peasants into fratricidal slaughter for the sake of the profit of a handful of bourgeois and landowners?
>
> "Can it be said that our Party, which is fighting for a radical improvement in the conditions of life of the workers, for the seven-hour working day, is the enemy of the workers and peasants? Can it be said that we who are leading the struggle of the peasants when they rise demanding land; we who are struggling for the confiscation of the appanage lands, of the monasteries and the estates of the parasite landowners, are the enemies of the peasantry? As a matter of fact it is in the capitalists, landowners, and the monarchy that the overwhelming majority of the people see their enemies. Our Party is in no case a criminal operating against the workers and peasants. We are the enemies of a handful of bourgeois and landowners. . . .
>
> "The prosecutor here has dwelt at some length on respect for the state system, the sacredness of the monarchy, but what

he said is not just ignoring what actually exists—here there are profound class ramifications.

"The monarchy of the present day is the tool of the capitalists and landowners for pumping out profits. Furthermore, inherent in the Japanese state order, that is to say the military police, monarchy is the old reactionary barbarism, and it stifles the political life of the masses of the people. . . .

"To destroy the reactionary state order by a people's revolution does perhaps, from the point of view of the bourgeoisie and the landowners, seem a capital crime. But with regard to the population of 70,000,000, it is not a crime at all. It is becoming the conviction of the masses of workers and peasants.

"Hurling fire and thunder at the idea of a violent revolution, this agent of the bourgeoisie, Hirata, the prosecutor, wanted to give the workers and peasant masses the impression that the C.P.J. is a gang of bandits and desperadoes. He wanted to horrify the backward workers and peasants with the C.P.J. . . .

". . . The violence preached by the Communists is very far from consisting in individual running about throwing bombs or walking around waving swords.

"The force of organized masses—that is what a revolution is. Prosecutor Hirata has tried to frighten people by portraying the C.P.J. as a gang of bandits, but it is the capitalists and landowners who have recourse to savage, reactionary violence. It is a fact that the capitalists and landowners, day in and day out, wreak violence on the workers and peasants by using their agents: the police, the gendarmes, the prosecutors, the judges and the jailers, and gangs of hired thugs. They direct White terror against the workers and peasants, themselves breaking even those false laws which have been made in the interests of themselves—the capitalists and the landowners. Is it not a fact that during strikes, during peasant conflicts and when arresting Communists, violence, insults, torture, open and secret and every kind of inhuman bestial White terror are used against the workers and peasants?

"The workers and peasants have felt on their own backs that the bourgeoisie are the vehicle of savage violence. . . .

"The prosecutor attacks us because the Communist Party is a secret society. But in actual fact is the C.P.J. a secret organization to the workers and peasants?

". . . The C.P.J. has never concealed its existence from the workers and peasants and always declares its policy openly. That is why to the masses of the workers and peasants the C.P.J. is by no means a secret organization. On the contrary, if anybody carries on a secret policy it is precisely the bourgeoisie and their agents. . . ."

In 1934 the case of Itsikava and his comrades was heard at the t of appeal. By this time Sano, Nabiyama and Nitamura, former ber of the C.C. of the C.P.J. and sentenced together with Itsikava er on, under the threat of imprisonment for life and the death nce vacillated and finally betrayed the Party and ignominiously ed over to the camp of the monarchy. And then it was that Comrade

Itsikava and, under his leadership, Tokuda, Siga and other Communists (the group of firm ones, as the bourgeois press call them) utilized the court for a merciless struggle against their former friends who had become renegades. Unfortunately, we have available only isolated excerpts from the speeches of Itsikava at this trial and these are as written up in the bourgeois press, but they speak for themselves. We will quote some of them.

> "We do not want here," Comrade Itsikava began his speech, "to say how we came to the Party and how we worked. We want to make clear the question of the treachery of Sano, Nabiyama and the others who have deserted from our camp."

Further on Comrade Itsikava gives the following reasons for the renegacy of Sano and company:

> "The crucial moment for them was the events in Manchuria, when, under the influence of the situation which had arisen in the country they began to lean towards active support of imperialist war. Their next step was capitulation to bourgeois nationalism which is striving to subjugate the class to the nation.
>
> "Further, these renegades are continually emphasizing the point that the C.P.J. is not a real proletarian party, but if we ask on what material these assertions are founded then it is evident that it is on the material supplied by the prosecutor's office, and from this fact alone one can judge if their assertions are right or wrong.
>
> "Sano and Nabiyama denounce and attack the Comintern by saying that it has no authority whatsoever for them. We will not dwell on this in detail because it is pure nonsense. We are firmly convinced that under the leadership of the Communists the Japanese proletariat will win their emancipation. . . ."

* * *

The court passed a most vicious sentence on Comrade Itsikava. He was sentenced to imprisonment for life and sent to the most terrible penal prison, Abasiria, on Khokkaido. His comrades were also sent to the same place for varying terms.

Penal servitude in Khokkaido is terrible. The horrors of the middle ages are called to mind. All the Communists without exception sit in cold isolated stone cells, without any heat. They have not the right even to walk about the cell; the prisoners—for years and decades, and Itsikava for life—are condemned to sit crouched over their work (Itsikava, for instance, is forced to make gloves for soldiers); only once a day for fifteen minutes is he allowed to move about the cell. Medieval torture for the slightest misbehavior, absolute tyranny by the prison wardens, scurvy, and, as food, only the prison hunger ration, with no right to buy or receive food—such is the fate of the prisoners of Japanese capital.

Terrible is the penal servitude, but it cannot break one who is really

epared to give his all for the cause of the people, who firmly believes the victory of the toiling masses.

And in penal servitude Comrade Itsikava's mood is as vigorous as er. In March, 1935, Comrade Itsikava wrote:

> "I remain unshaken as before, not out of pride, not for glory, not to perpetuate my name. I simply behave as anyone must do in my place."

Involuntarily one calls to mind the Leipzig trial, and the words of mrade Dimitroff, which have been burnt indelibly in the memory of llions of toilers:

> "And yet it revolves! The wheel of history is still revolving forward—towards a Soviet Europe, towards a world League of Soviet Republics.
>
> "And this wheel, driven by the proletariat under the leadership of the Communist International, will not be stopped by any measures of extirpation, by any terms of penal servitude, by any sentences of death. It is still turning, and will go on turning until the final victory of Communism!" (*Letters from Prison*, pp. 124-5.)

Itsikava is not alone: hundreds of Communists and revolutionaries e languishing in the Japanese dungeons.

The steadfast Comrade Yamamoto Masami has been awaiting trial three years. Although he has not been sentenced by a court, he is bjected to every kind of torment and torture.

The duty of the Japanese toiling masses, the duty of the internanal proletariat, is to rescue the prisoners from the claws of the Japese fascist reactionaries, to organize and develop in all countries a lly popular movement for the immediate release of Itsikava Sioitsi, leader of the Japanese Communist Party, the hero of the Japanese ple, and his comrades.

The Draft of the New Soviet Constitution as Dealt With in the Communist Press

By G. FRIEDRICH

THE draft of the new Soviet Constitution has met with a tremendous response among friends and enemies. The draft of the Soviet Constitution says to all proletarians, toilers and oppressed people throughout the world: "See, that which has been achieved by the Soviet workers and peasants, all that the oppressed nations have received from the proletarian revolution can be achieved by you as well, if you follow the path taken by the peoples of the Soviet Union. And the fascists, capitalists, and all the enemies of the proletariat have understood how dangerous to their existence is the Soviet Constitution, for it serves as a crushing indictment against their social order, against slavery and exploitation.

The fascist, bourgeois press developed a fierce campaign of lies and slanders against the Soviet Union, against the draft of the new Soviet Constitution. This press did everything possible so as to weaken as much as it could the effect of the victory of socialism, as most clearly expressed in this Constitution. This press deliberately kept silent about the fact that the new Soviet Constitution is the constitution of a country which has destroyed capitalism, which has destroyed the exploitation of man by man, that this constitution is based on a socialist society. The press in the hands of the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy did everything possible to belittle the importance of the Soviet Constitution, and to give it another, a lying meaning, not hesitating to resort to slander and falsification. This for instance is how the *Daily Herald*, the official organ of the British Labor Party, behaved.

It should be said that the tone used by the *Daily Herald* about the Soviet Union in general and the Soviet Constitution in particular gave rise to such a protest among its working class readers that the *Daily Herald* itself was compelled to print a number of letters sent to the editor:

> "Why," wrote one reader, "do you systematically ignore the fact that the Russian workers are masters of their country, and consequently are masters of their labor?"

Another reader pointed out that:

> "You write that the paragraph of the new Constitution about universal and secret suffrage does not prove that the Soviet Union is a democratic country. Democracy is, without a doubt,

the right of citizens to govern their lives within the bounds of organized society, and to establish local and central governing bodies. If this is the main principle of any real democracy, then there is more real democracy in the U.S.S.R. now than in any other western capitalist country; without a doubt democracy will increase still further under the new Constitution." (Retranslated.)

The Communist press should have attacked the slander and distortions, and explained the real meaning, the real content of the Soviet Constitution to the masses of the working people.

The campaign of popularizing the draft of the new Soviet Constitution has been well carried out by the Madrid *Mundo Obrero* and the Prague *Rude Pravo.*

The central organ of the Communist Party of Spain succeeded in combining the popularization of the draft Soviet Constitution with the mobilization of very wide masses of people in defense of the conquests formulated in the Spanish constitution, clearly to point out and explain to the working people of Spain, on the basis of various articles from the draft Soviet Constitution, the path which has led to the triumph of socialism, and to use the constitution as a sharp weapon against the fascists. The *Mundo Obrero* dealt in detail with the arguments of opponents, and polemized first and foremost against the views expressed by the *Solidaridad Obrera*, the paper of the Spanish Anarchists which was overwhelmed at the idea that "after 19 years of the revolution all that has been achieved is that the bourgeoisie has been given back its political rights". Prior to the fascist revolt, the *Mundo Obrero* daily dealt with the question of the Soviet Constitution. The material about the Constitution that appeared in the paper was well arranged.

The *Rude Pravo* (organ of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia) from the very outset also proceeded to carry on a systematic campaign popularizing as widely as possible the Soviet Constitution as well as a struggle against the arguments of opponents. The *Rude Pravo* replied all the attacks of opponents, and at the same time—and this is especially important—provided its working class readers with arguments with which to carry on discussion and polemics in the factories and at meetings. A series of articles printed in this paper was in fact an elementary course of scientific socialism. The problems were dealt with not abstractly, but always in connection with what surrounds the worker in his daily life, in connection with his economic, political, and legal position. The comparison with the constitution of Czechoslovakia clearly showed to the paper's readers the difference between the two constitutions. Whereas the Communist press in certain other countries contented itself with reprinting the statements of approval made by outstanding public men, already printed in the Soviet press, the *Rude Pravo* itself organized such an enquiry, and drew wide circles of people into the campaign for the Soviet Constitution. In numerous letters to the paper, Social-Democratic, non-party and Communist workers, scientists, writers, anl Left Republican politicians expressed their enthusiasm and endorsement of the

draft Soviet Constitution. The opinions and sentiments of thousands of Social-Democratic workers has been expressed by a Social-Democrat from the big industrial town of Pilsen who wrote: "I see that I am a contemporary of socialism. The greatest dream of my life has been fulfilled, the dream of many thousands of my comrades and other people."

Along with positive examples of the popularization of the draft Soviet Constitution, a number of papers of the central organs of most important sections of the Communist International have up to this time not been able to make use of the draft Soviet Constitution as a powerful weapon in their practical activity, and were late in popularizing the basic theses of the Constitution, and in this connection made serious mistakes.

Below we deal with certain defects in the work of our Communist press.

An important role in popularizing the Soviet Constitution should have been played by the German Communist press. It should have hurled itself against the stream of lies spread by the press of Goebbels, and also by the German press in other countries subsidized by the "Third Empire". We have in mind such Communist papers as the Prague *Rote Fahne*, the Swiss *Kaempfer* and *Vorwaerts* and the Strasbourg *Humanité*.

In the Prague *Rote Fahne* the first reports about the Constitution were printed four to five days late, and what is more in such a way that it seems as if the Editorial Board as least did not understand the importance of the Constitution as far as the international struggle of the working class was concerned. Only after a silence which lasted several weeks did the *Rote Fahne* pay attention to the malicious articles appearing almost daily in the bourgeois and fascist press. At first the *Rote Fahne* gave no reply at all either to these articles or to an estimation of the Soviet Constitution as given in the Social-Democratic press. A most serious defect also was the fact that the draft Soviet Constitution was not discussed in the paper in connection with concrete questions of life in Czechoslovakia, in particular, in the sphere of the national question.

The popularization of the draft Constitution in the Swiss Communist press also does not correspond to the importance of the tasks facing the Communist press. It is true that a decision of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Switzerland was published in which it stated that the Party must give the very widest publicity to the draft Soviet Constitution, but the papers themselves did not fulfill this decision. In publishing the text of the draft Constitution the *Kaempfer*, by the way, left out the concluding section regarding the "Emblem, Flag, Capital", although the international character of the fundamental law of the Soviet Union is expressed in this article of the draft Constitution, as well as in the others. It is true that some of the articles published dealt with various problems of the draft Constitution, but were not connected with the real situation in Switzerland.

The Strasbourg *Humanité* for a fortnight could not make up its mind to deal with the Soviet Constitution, this world-historic document. But when at last it settled down to popularizing the draft Constitution,

limited itself mainly to stressing the point that personal property protected in the U.S.S.R.

Even the Paris *l'Humanité* published the draft Constitution not in l, but only extracts of it. *L'Humanité* crowded the material dealing th this tremendous event in the usual column headed: "In the Land Socialism".

Leaving out the fact that the polemic against the *Temps* was not ried to its conclusion, we must note that the statements made in the rgeois press and *Le Populaire* were not dealt with and criticized. ch of the attacks of the bourgeois press should have served as grounds *l'Humanité* giving a clear explanation of and enlightenment the various problems of socialist construction, socialist society and questions of the constitution itself.

The London *Daily Worker* printed the text of the draft Constitution full, but did not allot sufficient space for a detailed examination of question. The material was in greater part badly arranged. The torial Board itself did not express its views on this theme, there was serious polemics carried on against other newspapers, while the icles printed were, in the main, of a defensive character, and made parallels between the position of the working people in the U.S.S.R. Great Britain.

The first report of the *Daily Worker* about the constitution con- ed serious mistakes, and was based apparently on distorted bour- is information, which was accepted by the Editorial Board at its face ue; for instance, the points about the seven-hour working day, holi- s with pay, social insurance, etc., were dealt with in a way that med as if the new Constitution introduced these for the first time. This fusion was further crowned by the assertion that the Constitution posed the introduction of Lower and Upper Houses, as though the on Council and the Council of Nationalities have not equal rights.

The polemic against the bourgeois press and also against the *Daily ald* was relegated to the column headed: "The Postbag". Why did the paper print hundreds of workers' letters, and organize a dis- ion of the draft Constitution on its pages in answer to the pro- tory articles in the *Daily Herald*?

The review of the Communist press in the various countries shows inability of the press to raise and deal with questions of the Soviet stitution in connection with the concrete conditions of their respective tries, the inability to organize the response to the draft Constitu- by workers and outstanding public people.

The Communist press could have discussed the most important lems which affect the basic vital interests of the working people of capitalist countries, on the basis of the draft Constitution. They d have clearly contrasted the unemployment in their own countries the right to work, accompanied by guaranteed wages, in the S.R. The contrast could have been made between the exploitation poverty of working people in their own countries, and the right to ation, rest, and social insurance with which each citizen of the

Soviet Union is entitled. The struggle of the proletarian united front and the anti-fascist People's Front in France and Spain, the class struggle throughout the capitalist world, on the one hand, and the creative socialist labor of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. freed from exploitation and oppression, on the other hand—these are two sides of one and the same struggle which are closely interconnected. The unity and brotherly alliance of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., who are marching from victory to victory under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, are symbols of the oncoming unity of the working people of all countries, and a splendid example of how the struggle ought to be carried on and victory won.

At the very time when the imperialist bourgeoisie are seeking a way out in war, when German fascism is openly preparing an attack on the U.S.S.R. and on its neighbors, so as to deprive them of liberty and national independence, at that very moment the fundamental law of the socialist state points out to the Soviet citizens that their sacred duty is to defend their socialist fatherland, but at the same time condemns any thought of a war of conquest. The Soviet Constitution does not give any organ of the state the right to declare war, and only makes provision for the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. to "*proclaim a state of war in the event of armed attack on the U.S.S.R.*" (Article 49). Thus, the Soviet Constitution gives legal form to the principle that socialism means peace.

The triumph of socialism is the cornerstone of the new Soviet Constitution. The great slogans of liberty and democracy, of brotherhood and equality among all nations and races, as recorded in the historic document, the draft of the new Constitution, which will be endorsed at the end of this year at the All-Union Congress of Soviets, are the results of the victories of the people of the U.S.S.R. and of the whole of mankind. The draft of the new Constitution whose creator is the great Stalin is a beacon light for all people who are thirsting for liberty, peace and socialism. It is the task of the Communist press to show all this.

The Struggle Against the New Unemployment Regulations in Great Britain

THE NEW DRAFT Unemployment Assistance Regulations were issued by the government on July 9. There is little material difference between these new regulations and those which were brought into operation at the beginning of 1935. On that occasion mighty united front demonstrations throughout the country forced the government to retreat in the short space of four weeks, and compelled it to institute a Standstill Order (February, 1935) by which the unemployed were to be assessed at the previous transitional payment rates.

In essence the proposals (1) Provide for the continuation of the Family Means Test; (2) Strive to drive a wedge into the ranks of the unemployed by granting certain small concessions to some while imposing further cuts on the vast majority of others; (3) Provide for an intensified drive to force unemployed youth into the army by reducing the allowances to those who are under 25 years of age.

According to the estimate of the Minister of Labor 200,000 unemployed will receive increases. No figure is given of the number scheduled to receive reductions, but indications point to it being in the neighborhood of about half a million. In addition many thousands of employed workers will be heavily hit by the continued operation of the Means Test which disrupts family life by placing the bonus of upkeep of unemployed upon employed relatives. The new regulations are slated to come into force on November 16.

As soon as the terms of the new Regulations became known, the working class reacted with lightning rapidity. South Wales gave a splendid lead. The Joint Council of Action Against Unemployment which represents all the main labor and trade union organizations in South Wales took immediate steps to summon an all-in conference. On July 18 this conference was held in Cardiff, was attended by nearly 1,000 delegates, and the call was launched for mighty demonstrations of a united character in all parts of South Wales. The demand was also raised that the General Council of the Trade Union Congress give a strong lead.

At the same time in Scotland, an all-in conference called by the United Trades Councils of Lanarkshire and supported by the Lanarkshire Mineworkers' Union, the Labor Party, the Communist Party, Cooperative Movement, Independent Labor Party and other organizations decided to organize a great mass united demonstration on August 2, and a central committee and subsidiary area committees to coordinate the campaign in this district were established. Thirty thousand took part in this demonstration.

Aware of the storm of feeling which the publication of the new Assistance Scales had aroused, the National Council of Labor organized a

national convention on July 20, 1936, to consider the question. This was attended by some 1,400 delegates.

Arthur Horner, well-known Communist and President of the South Wales Miners' Federation, gave expression to the feeling of the convention when he declared: "I am speaking on behalf of a people in revolt, and we are here to spread that revolt throughout the working class movement."

Insisting on action being taken without delay, the delegates present carried a decision for the holding of nation-wide mass demonstrations on July 26, and then proceeded to line up and marched from the conference hall to Parliament to bring pressure to bear upon the Members of Parliament.

On July 26, a series of monster demonstrations took place in all the principal centers of the country. In the Welsh Valley over 500,000 are estimated to have turned out to condemn the Means Test and pledge unrelenting struggle to compel the withdrawal of the new unemployment proposals. In Tonypandy alone, over 100,000 marched to the meeting. In Durham a great gathering of 200,000 people (the Miners' Gala) acclaimed the statement of Joseph Jones, President of the Mineworkers' Federation of Great Britain, that they would resist to the full the Means Test Regulations, would rouse the people and compel the government to shrink before the clenched fist of organized labor. So also was the decision of the Durham Miners' Association to fight the new Unemployment Regulations endorsed. In the East End of London a huge procession over one and a half miles long marched through the streets in protest, and similar demonstrations were carried out in other centers (Leeds, Bradford, Workington, Bristol, etc.).

In all areas the Communist Party is calling ior united action by all sections of the working class, and is demanding that a national march on London take place, organized by the National Council of Labor. The Party is determined to prevent the Parliamentary vacation being used to dampen down the determination of the masses to defeat the Bill, and is now rousing the masses for action and is meeting with a splendid response to its appeal for closer bonds of working class unity in order that the battle can be carried forward to complete success.

The organ of the Party, the *Daily Worker*, is playing a big part in helping forward the powerful mass movement which has been called into being.

The Paris Conference on the Right of Asylum

THE FATE of the political immigrants from fascist countries is so tragic that finally after more than three years it has attracted the ttention of world-wide public opinion. The International Conference on he Right of Asylum to all political emigres which took place in Paris n June 20-21, 1936, was an expression of this public opinion and served s a means to organize it.

The conference was a great step forward in creating international nited action in defense of the victims of reaction and fascism. Witness f this is provided by the composition of the delegates to the con- erence: in it participated *16 international organizations, 14 Social- Democratic Parties of European countries* (including the Socialist arties of France, Spain, Germany, Italy, Norway, Switzerland, Poland, ustria, Belgium, etc.), *five Communist Parties, four bourgeois-democra- ic parties, five national trade union confederations, four trade unions, 9 relief organizations, 23 emigre organizations and 37 cultural organiza- ions of various kinds.* The number of delegates elected by parties and rganizations amounted to 226. Besides these there were 650 invited uests, prominent social and scientific workers of international renown nd belonging to various political parties and tendencies. Altogether ose to 900 people participated in the conference.

The main task of the conference was to work out a draft law which ould serve as a basis in all countries and would guarantee the right of sylum to all political emigres from fascist and reactionary countries.

It was not easy to work out a common draft law. Nevertheless after serious and friendly discussion of the question at the plenary sessions the conference and in the commissions, it proved possible to accept e draft unanimously. The following are its most important articles:

1. The country, where the political immigrant finds asylum, is to sue him a passport. This passport is to be visaed by other governments that the immigrant may have the possibility of traveling from one untry to another.

2. The right to work.

3. No deportation and no extradition of political emigres.

4. The appointment of an inter-departmental commission to deal th the question of asylum (for emigres); this body is also to handle peals in cases of deportation. Representatives of emigre organizations participate in the commission.

And finally:

5. The right to freedom of opinion for political emigres, to par- ipation in trade unions and in the cultural and social life of the untry where they find asylum.

No matter how self evident these demands are, they did not always meet with the approval of all the parties who agreed to participate in the conference. First of all, the right of the emigre to work and of freedom of opinion was disputed. In the first period of the preparation of the conference doubts were frequently met with about the rightfulness of these demands, even amongst a few of its organizers, but afterwards these doubts were overcome. The conference took place in a spirit of a unanimous striving to give aid to the victims of fascism and reaction.

Comrade Marcel Cachin, whose speech was transmitted by the French radio station, stated:

> "I call your attention to the freedom-loving revolutionary traditions of France, among which the observance of the sacred right of asylum always stood in the forefront. The Communist Party of France, in whose name I am speaking here, considers itself the heir to these traditions, and therefore it is clear that it gives its passionate support to the decisions of this conference. In conclusion allow me to say that as against the complete suppression of democracy in many countries, we can at the present moment greet the great achievement registered in the new constitution of the Soviet Union, which bears real democracy to all the toilers. Particularly, Article 129 of this Constitution grants full right of asylum to all victims of capitalism, fascism and nationalism. . . ."

Jean Longuet, the representative of the Socialist Party of France, stated:

> "It is with real joy that I fulfil my instruction to express here in the name of my party and the International to which I belong, my own and our complete agreement with the cause of solidarity which this conference is serving. . . ."

And speaking about France, the speaker pointed out that the present government of France—

> ". . . must give an example, as was just said by Comrade Cachin, to all the peoples and particularly to the League of Nations; it must show in deeds that the right of asylum which we are defending belongs to the most important rights of modern civilization."

Casanovas, speaker of the Catalonian parliament, said:

> "I remind you that not long ago the majority of the present rulers of Spain, leaders of the People's Front, and I myself were emigres. Many had to leave their native land on more than one occasion. Therefore we consider ourselves under a particular obligation to struggle for the rights of political emigres. . . ."

In this same spirit were the speeches made by Sir Mallon Harvey, general secretary of the Quakers; La Grange, a minister in the French government; Malemberg, chairman of the trade unions of Sweden; Marc

angnier, well-known leader of the Christian Lefts in France, and hers. And as regards all other questions (for instance, on practical easures for assuring the right of asylum, for organizing relief for l political emigres, etc.) unanimity rang in all speeches. *Therefore, e conference must be estimated as a great step forward in the creation international unity and aid to the victims of fascism.*

A great success for the cause of unity was the unanimous election an international bureau by the conference to which large organizaons, parties and trade unions have affiliated and appointed their deletes. Despite the fact that the composition of the bureau is still complete, it is now an important factor in the organization of interational solidarity, a fighter against fascism, and for freedom. The cretariat of the International Bureau immediately began to collect nds for material aid to political emigres, the victims of fascism and action.

Further the conference elected a delegation of six members, representatives of various organizations and parties, to hand its demands to e Geneva conference of governments. The influence of the International ris Conference on the Right of Asylum could be seen in the fact that ese demands were placed for discussion at the Geneva conference. spite the fact that the convention of the Geneva conference of governments contains a number of paragraphs which menace anti-fascist itical emigres, nevertheless, this convention can be regarded as a cern success which could not have been achieved without the Paris conence. (For instance, its decision on the issue of passports for one ar, and that governments should vise them, the obligation not to port political emigres, their legalization, etc.)

Nevertheless, the International Bureau elected at the Paris conence was not satisfied with these positive results, and its secretariat its first meeting worked out an answer to the Geneva convention. The retariat decided to adopt a number of measures, so that by a broad, ss campaign in the various countries to secure that the governments ept the convention with the elimination from it of the paragraphs ich are dangerous to emigres.

It is already possible to register a number of practical achievements the work of the conference: for instance, in France, Belgium and itzerland anti-fascist emigres who up to the present were forced to e illegally, since they were afraid of deportation, are now legalized, l relief organizations, including the International Labor Defense, are ognized as legal bodies for the issuing of documents to them. The mmittee for United Action on the question of the right of asylum, ich developed in the process of the preparations for the International is Conference, have since grown strong, and in some countries new mmittees have been established.

These successes, which can already be seen only a few weeks after Paris conference, were able to be achieved due to the fact that the ference took place on a broad basis, uniting all the supporters of aid he victims of fascism, due to the unanimous adoption of the decisions

by the conference, its real international character, and its character of united action and sympathy for the people's anti-fascist front. This fact undoubtedly once more shows to all the workers and democratic parties, trade unions, cultural and solidarity organizations that success in the struggle against fascism, and for peace and freedom, for solidarity, for the right of asylum, for aid to anti-fascist fighters, can only be assured if a broad united front is created to aid those engaged in the struggle against fascism and for freedom. In this lies the great importance of the Paris International Conference for the Right of Asylum.

The Election Campaign in the U.S.A.

THE reactionary character of the Republican Party is being revealed during the course of the election campaign ever more clearly. The acceptance speech of Landon, the Presidential candidate of the Republican Party, on July 24, was a reiteration of the reactionary Republican Party platform despite an obvious effort to try and hide behind "liberal" phraseology. The declaration on labor in the speech is quite characteristic. Landon said:

> "The right of labor to organize means to me the right of employees to join any type of union they prefer whether it covers their plant, or their industry. It means that, in the absence of a union contract an employee has an equal right to join a union or *to refuse to join a union.* Under all circumstances, so states the Republican platform, employees are to be free from *interference from any source,* which means as I read it entire freedom from coercion or intimidation by the employer, *any fellow employee or any other person.*" (Our emphasis.)

Despite the attempt to hide the real attitude towards labor, it is quite obvious that this declaration of the Republican spokesman is directed in the first place against the trade unions. At the present moment the trade union movement in the United States under the leadership of the Committee for Industrial Organization is making an effort to organize the half-million workers in the steel industry. It is quite obvious that the phrase "interference from any source" is directed against the trade unions and trade union organizers active in the organization of the steel workers. This phrasing is constructed so as to encourage the organization of company unions.

A number of additional disclosures made during the campaign such as the anti-Semitism of Landon, as proved by the letter printed in the American *Daily Worker* at the beginning of July, the connection of Hamilton, the campaign manager of Landon, with the Ku Klux Klan, as well as the further connection of the Republican Party with Hearst, the Black Legion, etc., are further proof of the correctness of the position of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. in pointing out that the central task of the present election campaign is to defeat the Landon-Hearst-Wall Street combination which is the chief enemy of the liberties, peace and prosperity of the American people and whose victory would carry the U. S. a long way on the road to fascism and war.

The reactionary circles of American finance capital are exerting great efforts to get their candidate elected in the coming elections on November 3. In the last elections the Republican Party received over 15,000,000 votes, approximately 41 per cent of the 39,000,000 total vote cast, whereas the Democratic candidate won by a majority of about 7,500,000. Thus, if the Republican Party should succeed in winning an

additional 3,000,000 votes properly distributed in the various states they could be assured of the election of their candidate.

There are a number of indications that reveal that the reactionary forces in the past months have considerably strengthened their position. Thus, in a pre-election straw (test) vote polled by the American Institute of Public Opinion last July, Landon received 48.2 per cent of the popular vote and had a majority of the vote in 21 out of the 48 states, although he received only a minority in the electoral college, 272 out of the total of 531 electoral votes.

Commenting upon the straw vote, the important Republican newspaper, the *New York Herald Tribune*, writes an editorial entitled: "Mr. Landon in the Lead", in which it states that the campaign has given Landon "a strong position from which to start the race". More and more talk is heard of the Republican Party's "new morale" and the same paper in another issue says "it is clear even to Party faint-hearts that the Republicans have their chance in 1936".

These statements are undoubtedly exaggerated and necessary to bolster up the Republican Party morale, but unquestionably there has been an improvement in the position of the Republican Party. This is even admitted by General Hugh Johnson, a Democrat, who was the head of the National Recovery Administration. In an article for the Scripps-Howard newspaper, the *San Francisco News*, he writes:

> "In industry the belief is strong that Landon will win, that labor is not ready, that the underlying trends of public opinion are reactionary and that this is the time and opportunity to lick labor once and for all. They [Wall Street—Ed.] are very confident."

The reactionary forces in the United States are increasing their activity in the election campaign also through the Union Party. The latter's Presidential candidate, Lemke, is operating to the benefit of Landon by using a typical half-fascist hodge-podge of radical-sounding phrases. A tremendous number of meetings, radio speeches, leaflets, propaganda in the press, etc., have been developed by this party. The pro-fascist Father Coughlin, the Reverend G. K. Smith of the Share-the-Wealth Movement, and Dr. Townsend, are outstanding personalities in the Union Party movement. The Union Party and its candidate Lemke, despite the fact that they were not officially endorsed, received tremendous publicity at the convention of the Townsendites held in Cleveland on July 15-20.

The increased activity of the Union Party is the more dangerous because they are making an appeal to those forces which have become dissatisfied with the Roosevelt position of retreating before the demands of reaction as well as some elements who see in this demagogy of the Union Party a real attempt to build a new party of protest against Wall Street that would be opposed to the two old parties.

In an editorial of the Democratic magazine *Today* Professor Moley who was known as the head of Roosevelt's defunct "Brain Trust" commenting upon the Union Party says:

"Almost all votes for the new ticket should be deducted from Roosevelt's strength. The ticket will get upward of a million votes. Its greatest strength will be in North Dakota, Minnesota, Iowa, Michigan, Ohio, Massachusetts and Louisiana. In the states mentioned the margin by which either Roosevelt or Landon is likely to win will probably not be over 10 per cent."

This estimate is further substantiated by a special poll on the third rty movements conducted by the American Institute of Public Opinion which it was disclosed that "the poll confirms the worst fears of the emocratic Party on that score. For as third parties gain they draw far ore heavily from Roosevelt than from Landon." The facts revealed at for every Republican who goes over to the Union Party, eight emocrats go over.

Considerable sections of the organized labor movement recognize the ngers of reaction and fascism in the U.S.A., and also the need for e formation of a Farmer-Labor Party. But many of these elements e at the present time rallying around President Roosevelt, the Presintial candidate of the Democratic Party. Of special significance is the ganization in New York State of a Labor Party which has endorsed osevelt for President and for Governor of the State of New York, the esent Democratic Governor, Lehman. This Party was formed at the tiative of Labor's Non-Partisan League. The People's Party, the new me assumed by the "Old Guard" which has split away from the cialist Party, is also endorsing this New York State Labor Party.

The Socialist Party is continuing its old line of indifference to the d of a people's front in the United States. Norman Thomas, the Presntial candidate of the Socialist Party, declared that "in the 1936 tion campaign the fundamental issue is socialism against capital- ". The failure to see the imminent danger of reaction and fascism the refusal to participate in immediate political struggles is at basis of the ever more evident drift of the Socialist Party towards arian isolation from the masses.

The Communist Party is actively concentrating on the building of, the participation in, local and state Farmer-Labor tickets. Thus, Communist Party is participating in Farmer-Labor Party movets in Michigan, Connecticut, Massachusetts and in a number of r industrial and farming states, both in the east and the west.

The Communist Party is developing the most elaborate election campgn in its history. The National Election Campaign Committee with rade William Z. Foster as chairman has announced its plans for campaign. Among these are the issuing of several million leaflets, ers, pamphlets, the use of the radio, automobiles equipped with loudakers, national tours by Comrades Browder and Ford, as well as by tanding Communists, etc. For this purpose the National Election paign Committee is creating a campaign chest with a quarter of a on dollars. The entire work of the Communist Party in this election paign is being conducted with the greatest awareness that the ggle against reaction and fascism in the U.S.A. can be successful by a people's front.

Decision of the International Control Commission

REGARDING JOSE ANTONIO MAYABRE, FERNANDO KEY SANCHEZ AND RAPHAEL DE CASTRO

IN THE recent period the International Control Commission has examined several cases of Party members who have acted in a way unworthy of Communists before the class enemy.

In 1932 in Venezuela the police arrested a number of workers who were suspected of being members of the illegal Communist Party. While the majority of the prisoners firmly stood their ground as staunch proletarian revolutionaries, and refused to give evidence which might be detrimental to the organized working class movement, some Party members showed cowardice. Thus Jose Antonio Mayabre, otherwise Juan Ribbaz, and Fernando Key Sanchez, fearing the tortures with which, they say, they were threatened, gave information which threw light on the work being carried out by the Party to organize the working class. In particular they gave the police the addresses of comrades who were compelled to live in hiding, and the steps the Party was taking to organize the publication and distribution of literature, etc.

The testimony given by Mayabre and Key Sanchez undoubtedly did harm to the liberation struggle of the working class of Venezuela against bloody reaction. These Party members betrayed the interests of the Party because of their cowardice. The leading comrades in the Communist Party of Venezuela did not understand the serious effects of this shameful behavior on the part of Party members. They not only failed to call to responsibility those who proved to be unworthy of bearing the high title of Communist, but they even gave Mayabre and Key Sanchez, after their release from prison, very responsible tasks to fulfill.

The International Control Commission has decided to expel Jose Antonio Mayabre and Fernando Key Sanchez from the Communist Party. In view of their youth and inexperience, they are allowed in a year's time to appeal to the Central Committee of the Communist Party as to their reinstatement into the Party.

The Central Committee of the Venezuelan Communist Party has been asked to discuss the behavior of other members of the Party who behaved in a manner unworthy of Communists when in the hands of the police, in the police courts, etc., and to draw them to account before the Party.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela has also been given the responsibility of carrying out day-to-day enlightenment work among the members of the Party as to the dangers and absolute impermissibility of informing the class enemy of the measures being taken by the Party in the struggle against the enemies of the

orking class. The Central Committee must train the Party members in he spirit of an irreconcilable attitude towards "dealings" with the olice, and treachery. The example of Mayabre and Sanchez should serve s a warning to other Party members.

A similar case examined was that of Raphael de Castro, a member f the Communist Party of Portugal. Castro, who was an old member f the Communist Party, and was arrested in 1932, betrayed to the olice the whereabouts of the printshop where the Party, deprived of gal possibilities, printed its illegal newspaper. In addition to this astro gave the authorities the addresses of responsible Party workers, ho were hiding from police persecution. The leaders of the Communist arty of Portugal did not understand how great the demoralization reatening a Party whose members place their own interests before ose of the Party and the working class. After his acts of treachery astro was entrusted with most responsible Party work.

In accordance with a decision of the International Control Commission Castro has been expelled from the Communist Party. The presentative of the Communist Party of Portugal was reprimanded r his failure to give a timely report as to the behavior of Castro to the gher Party bodies. The Central Committee of the Communist Party s been asked to carry on educational work among the Party members; e Central Committee is in duty bound to explain to the Party members e tremendous harm done by letting the enemy get to know the conspiratorial work of the Party; to discover any traitors in the ranks, and call to Party account not only those members who have betrayed the terests of the Party and the working class, but also those who conceal e behavior of Communists who have rendered service to the class emy.

Who Rules in Modern America?

By V. YERSHOV

IN A LETTER to the American workers sent in August, 1918, Lenin wrote:

> "The American people, who gave the world an example of revolutionary war against feudal slavery, found themselves modern capitalist wage slaves to a handful of billionaires. . . ."

The recently published book *Rulers of America**, by Anna Rochester, is a splendid illustration of this statement of Lenin.

In 1925 in the U.S.A. at least 59 per cent of the national wealth of the country belonged to 1 per cent of the population, while 87 per cent of the people possessed only 8 per cent. The economic crisis that broke out in 1929 widened this gap to the extreme, reducing almost one-fifth of the population of the U.S.A. to a state of unheard-of poverty. According to the figures of the Brookings Institution on the distribution of the national income from 1929 to 1934 inclusive (quoted by Anna Rochester, p. 146), 0.1 per cent of all American families received as much income as 42 per cent of the total number of families in the U.S.A. These figures undoubtedly still give an even better appearance than the actual situation. Thus, behind the formal equality of citizens, proclaimed by American bourgeois democracy, is concealed the most frightful economic inequality.

Industry and transport, banking and commerce, the greater part of the dwelling houses in the U.S.A., public utilities, printing presses, newspapers, paper supplies, etc., are all the property of the big capitalists. America's boasted liberty is merely liberty for a handful of American multi-millionaires who exploit and plunder tens of millions of the American workers and toilers.

In American industry and transport, the key positions are held by two hundred trusts and corporations. The aggregate capital of these gigantic monopolist concerns in January, 1932, amounted to $81,438,000,000 of which $30,299,000,000 were owned by 18 super giant monopolies with a capital of over $1,000,000,000 each (pp. 24-25).

The Morgan, Rockefeller and Mellon groups hold the dominating position in the American financial oligarchy. It is extremely difficult to establish exactly the share of the national wealth of the U.S.A. under the control of these three powerful groups of the financial oligarchy. But all that Comrade Rochester was able to discover by means of a careful investigation of the extent of their possessions, their connections and representation in various industries, banks and insurance companies,

* *Rulers of America*, by Anna Rochester. International Publishers, 367 pp., $2.50.

goes to show that a tremendous part of the national wealth is concentrated directly and indirectly in their hands.

According to Comrade Rochester's figures, the capital of the trusts, corporations, banks, insurance companies, etc., under various degrees of direct or indirect control and influence of the Morgan group amounts to 77,600,000,000 (of which $5,000,000,000 are investments abroad). The stupendous sum of $72,600,000,000, remarks the author, comprises "more than one fourth of the American corporate wealth". (p. 40.)

Directly connected with the House of Morgan are 60 industrial and transport corporations, 35 banks and insurance companies with a total capital of $30,000,000,000. Morgan and his partners are members of the boards of directors of these corporations. Among these enterprises are such big monopolies as the American Telegraph and Telephone Company, with a capital of $4,235,000,000; the United States Steel Corporation, with a capital of $2,280,000,000; the First National Bank, etc.

The second powerful group in the American financial oligarchy is that of the Rockefeller interests. Although the relative importance and sphere of influence of the Rockefeller group in American economy are considerably less that that of the Morgan group, the total amount of capital under its direct and indirect control and influence is tremendous. Rockefeller has direct control of industrial, transport and banking corporations with a combined capital of $21,500,000,000. In addition, jointly with the Morgan interests, they control another group of industrial and banking corporations with a capital of $23,400,000,000. Through the members of their "cabinet", the Rockefellers control 11 companies with a capital of $3,750,000,000, and are represented in three other big corporations with a capital of $7,000,000,000 controlled by Morgan. Agents of the powerful Rockefeller-owned Standard Oil Company represent his interests in another 36 corporations. Finally, through the Chase National Bank, connected with the Rockefeller interests, they control another 88 companies with assets totaling about $10,300,000,000 and 28 others, closely connected with this bank, with assets totaling more than $6,800,000,000.

The third in importance is the group of Mellon, which has majority holdings in and direct control of 35 banks and insurance companies and about 40 industrial, transport and other companies with an aggregate capital of $4,250,000,000 (p. 69). In addition to this, the Mellon group is represented and has influence in a number of other banks and companies with total assets of about $13,000,000,000, a part of which are under the control of Morgan and the banking house of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. The Aluminum Company of America, controlled by Mellon, produces 33 per cent of the aluminum of the U.S.A. Mellon owns the Gulf Oil Corporation, which in the oil industry comes next in importance to Rockefeller's Standard Oil Co.

Following these three powerful magnates come a whole string of second-rate groups and individual representatives of finance capital whose power is very great. The chief of them is the banking house of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., the old Boston banking firms of Lee Higginson and

Co., and Kidder, Peabody & Co., the automobile king Henry Ford, the du Pont family, the Guggenheim family, the Vanderbilt family, etc., whose total capital assets amount to tens and hundreds of millions of dollars. The magnates of finance capital, owning the main branches of American economy, are virtually able to dictate who will occupy one or another political job, and to control the government and direct its policies.

In a special chapter, "Controlling the Government", Comrade Rochester shows the close contacts between the monopolists and the government. The extent to which the "personal union" is developed between the representatives of the financial oligarchy and the government is clearly demonstrated by the example of the composition of the Hoover cabinet, where most of the members were big manufacturers, lawyers and bankers. The Roosevelt cabinet is no better. "Roosevelt", writes Anna Rochester, "having loudly announced that he would drive the moneychangers from the temple, started with fewer obvious Wall Street appointees". (P. 128.) The correctness of this assertion by the author is confirmed by a mere glance at the lists of members of the Industrial Advisory Board, and the Business Planning and Advisory Council appointed during the N.R.A.

The close connection between the representatives of finance capital and the government is by no means limited to "personal unity". The wide and systematic corruption of government officials, Congressmen, Senators, direct pressure on them and finally lobbying are some of the methods of controlling and directing the policy of the government. All this is supplemented by wide propaganda in defense of the interests of the capitalists through a huge apparatus, as the press, radio, cinemas, churches, schools, universities, charity societies, etc.

The author devotes a few pages to showing the bourgeois limitations of the American Constitution and to the political structure of the U.S.A. The President and the members of the cabinet whom he appoints are not answerable to Congress; the President has the right to veto bills; the parallel functions of Congress and of the Senate, and finally the Supreme Court with its right to repeal laws that have been already passed and are in operation—all this is adapted towards promptly rendering harmless the discontent of the masses if waves of mass indignation begin to rise against any of the phases of the state machinery.

Though Comrade Rochester correctly remarks that the "Constitution has served as the bulwark of the exploiters against the workers" (p. 121) she unfortunately did not illustrate how, by means of all kinds of clever tricks and laws of the various states, tremendous masses of working people are deprived of the vote and of the possibility of participating in the elections.

In the second part of the book, the author, on the basis of examples from the main branches of American economy, shows in detail the methods of control and management that are practised by the American financial oligarchy. This part of the book gives a tremendous number of facts on the struggle among the various magnates of finance capital and

ir groups, and on the methods by which the monopolists "crush those o do not submit to the monopoly, its oppression and license". (Lenin, *llected Works*, Russian edition, Vol. IX, p. 90.)

In the chapter "Wall Street's Foreign Empire" the author shows the wth of American imperialism, its sharpening struggle against British l Japanese imperialism in the countries of Central and South Ameri-, Canada and China, and the frightful exploitation and plunder of colonial workers and peasants. The Wall Street rulers and their ed scribes who shout themselves hoarse about imaginary forced labor he Soviet Union have themselves openly introduced it in the colonies in countries which are official and actual protectorates of the U.S.A. the agreement of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. with the Govern-nt of Liberia the latter is made directly responsible for the supply abor power. Complaints made to the League of Nations about forced or and the slave trade in Liberia were stifled by the American gov-ment.

One reads the concluding pages of the book, where the author re-s to the question "Will the Rulers Maintain Their Power?" with icular interest. While pointing out that although the years of the omic crisis and special kind of depression have quite severely shaken foundations of American finance capital, the author says that it ld be a serious mistake to imagine that the power of the capitalists break down by itself.

> "Even a second world war would not dislodge these rulers from their Wall Street thrones without a strong mass movement against capitalism. Such a movement can be built—and must be built—in the process of the fight to defeat fascist forces and prevent imperialist war. To make effective its overwhelming potential strength, it must include not only the working class as its central driving power but allies of the working class drawn from every other group which has suffered under the rule of finance capital." (P. 303.)

Rochester calls for a struggle against the fascist forces headed by Liberty League, concentrated around Wall Street, and declares for necessity of organizing a wide Peoples' Front against fascism and anger of imperialist war.

While genuinely welcoming the peace policy of the Soviet Union and cing in the successes which have already been reached by the list state, Anna Rochester at the same time points out that "this policy of the Soviet Union must be supplemented by aggressive action involving all anti-war forces within every capitalist coun-(P. 303.) In branding the German fascists and the Japanese ary clique as organizers and instigators of war against the U.S.S.R., uthor writes extremely moving lines to the effect that "if such a war s out, the major challenge to the masses will be active defense of orkers' state". (*Ibid.*)

What are the weaknesses of this good and useful book?

The book does not raise with sufficient emphasis the question of the

increasing decay of American capitalism in its imperialist stage and especially in the epoch of the general crisis of the capitalist system. It was precisely in the U.S.A., as Lenin pointed out, that "the parasitic features of modern American capitalism are seen with particular clearness". (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russian edition, Vol. XIX, p. 172.)

Chapter 21, especially the section "The Government Takes a Hand", gives the impression that the material has not been sufficiently worked over. Though correct in the main, it gives a too general characterization of Roosevelt's measures. An important omission is the absence of an analysis of the action of the internal economic forces of capitalism, which were a most important factor in the development of the economic crisis into a depression of a special kind in the U.S.A. In general, she does not deal sufficiently with theoretical problems in connection with American imperialism, and where she touches on them it is only superficially, in particular when she speaks in passing of the problems of the historic peculiarities of the development of American imperialism. The book would also be improved if the author included in it a critical examination of some of the "theories" of imperialism and of the general crisis of capitalism which have appeared in the U.S.A., such as the "theories" of Scott Nearing and Lewis Corey. An expose of these non-Marxist conceptions would undoubtedly have helped to give a more profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of American imperialism.

In spite of these shortcomings, Anna Rochester's book is undoubtedly good and useful, and it is to be hoped that it will be widely circulated.

Pamphlets on the International Peace Congress

By M. TAMAR

IN CONNECTION with the preparations for the International Peace Congress, the World Committee for the Struggle Against War and Fascism, which is taking an active part in the calling of the congress, has begun to issue pamphlets on a wide scale under the general title: *The Strategy and Tactics of the Struggle Against War and Fascism.**

"The chief tasks", says one of these pamphlets in *An Open Letter to All Friends of Peace* is to "get clarity as to what kind of peace we want, clarity as regards our strategy and tactics in the struggle against war, because this is a necessary precondition for joint action—action that knows what it is aiming at."

A great deal was said in Paris on June 6-7, 1936, at the conference called by the Secretariat of the World Committee as to the need to bring clarity into the fundamental questions of the struggle for peace, as the need for deepening ideological work among the very wide circles of pacifists who are for the first time joining in international mass activity against war. The pamphlet containing the material of this conference has this very title: "Act Clearly".

The prominent British pacifist Norman Angell, in his speech at the conference, formulated with great effect the basic problem which faces many sincere friends of peace:

> "The pacifist movement to which I have belonged for thirty years or so has undoubtedly changed its character lately. Formerly, it was required to create the will for peace; nowadays the desire and the will for peace exist everywhere. Our political opponents in England are for peace with Japan, Italy and Germany. *The enemies of peace utilize the love for peace in their own interests.* This problem must be explained to the people." (Retranslated.)

The warmongers not only work secretly. They and their friends and agents in various countries declare that they are ardent opponents of war, hiding behind a smokescreen of pseudo-pacifist demagogy. "Hitlerism", says the "Open Letter" of the World Committee, "uses the word 'peace' just as it uses the word 'socialism'. It sees with satisfaction

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* *Strategie et Tactique de la Lutte contre la Guerre et le Fascisme.* Rene Manblanc, "Le fascisme et les intellectuels", p. 22. Bureau d'editions, Paris. Romain Rolland, "Comment empecher la guerre?", p. 30. Bureau d'editions. Paris. Sir Norman Angell. "La paix et la Securite collective", p. 29. Bureau d'editions. Paris. Francis Jourdain. "Faut-il donner des colonies a Hitler?" p. 15. Bureau d'editions. Paris. "La Lutte pour Paix. Lettre ouverte a Tous les Amis de la Paix", p. 16. Bureau d'editions. Paris. "Agir dans la clarte. Discours de: Norman Angell, Paul Boncour, Palme Dutt, Matreaux, Nenni, Breitscheid, Heinrich Mann, Munzenberg, Urich, Del Vayo, Malraux, etc.," p. 61. Bureau d'editions, Paris.

how the pacifists of some countries, even those who belong to Left groups, allow themselves to be deceived with this demagogy."

The masses of honest pacifists must be split away from these false pacifists who in practice help the instigators of war in their foul work; it is essential to disperse the prejudice of "integral pacifism" that is terrified with the very word "arms" while it at the same time dreams of conciliation with the fascist aggressors. Such is the guiding thought of all the pamphlets under review, such was the guiding thought of most of the speeches at the Conference, in which representatives of various political trends took part.

> "The German opposition has proved its love of peace", declared the well-known German writer Heinrich Mann at the conference. "It has shown it in the dungeons of the Third Empire and in exile. Let Hitler give his own proofs! Let him liberate Ossietski, let him stop torturing Thaelmann and thousands of people whose only crime is that they defend noble ideas! Finally, let Hitler permit pacifist propaganda throughout his whole kingdom!"

Another prominent representative of German literature, Thomas Mann, exposes the pseudo-pacifist lies with equal sharpness. He wrote in his appeal to those organizing the Congress:

> "Violence and deceit inside the country are inevitably accompanied by violence and deceit outside it. A government, which scorns its own people, cannot but despise foreign peoples and governments."

Very powerful documents disproving the pacifist illusions that a peaceful agreement with the aggressors is possible, are the well-known articles by Romain Rolland, "Indivisible Peace" and "In Defense of Peace", which are published as a separate pamphlet in the series under review. The passionate appeal of Romain Rolland for the formation of an international and closely consolidated "ring of peace", for the establishment of international unity against the fascist warmongers, arouses a sympathetic and excited echo among the masses of friends of peace. Many subjectively honest pacifists who have been taken in by the pro-fascist demagogues, and who fear effective measures against the military aims of German fascism, in the name of a false understanding of "friendship" with the German people, will be compelled to think deeply by the following simple and clear words of the great humanitarian: "Hitlerism is the enemy of the German people", "The League of Peace is open for Germany as well", "By defending the U.S.S.R. we defend ourselves".

Romain Rolland writes about the Soviet Union, the greatest bulwark of peace, with devotion and warm love:

> "When the U.S.S.R. in the course of the last years made it possible for me to become convinced that the great social ideal can be realized, I could have wept for joy if my old eyes had not become unaccustomed to tears. I know that the U.S.S.R. is

the most reliable guarantee for social progress, that the happiness of mankind is under its guard, that it is our living fortress. . . . And therefore I say: The defense of the U.S.S.R. or death."

It is precisely the fact that Romain Rolland links up his whole argument in favor of collective security, and effective measures against the cist aggressor, with the U.S.S.R. with its struggle for peace, that kes his arguments particularly powerful, militant and irrefutable. the same time, however, some of the prominent people of the movent for peace are not yet fully clear about the importance of the S.S.R. as a factor for pace. The underestimation of the anti-war wer of the Soviet Union, the only socialist country in the world, conerably weakened the arguments in favor of collective security in some he pamphlets under review.

Norman Angell, for instance, in his pamphlet *Peace and Collective urity*, very eloquently defends the need for sanctions against the ressor:

> "There is a stereotyped phrase: sanction means war. This is absolutely untrue. In reality, uncertainty of sanctions means war. The war in Africa proved to be possible because Mussolini was not at all certain of sanctions. . . . There are far better colonial territories than Ethiopia. There are, for example, Algiers, Tunis and Malta which already to some extent belong to Italy, Austria, New Zealand and Florida. Why did Mussolini not attack one of these countries? Because he knew that if he were to land his troops in Jamaica or New Zealand, we should not waste five months discussing whether to apply oil sanctions or not. Note, that sanctions applied by one country alone are enough to defend a whole territory without a single shot being fired. This is what I want to stress." (Retranslated.)

But Norman Angell forgot to mention that the principle of collective rity in international relations is not only the good wishes of some he friends of peace, but has found expression in concrete acts of rnational policy, which are the result of the consistent and stubborn ggle of the Soviet Union for peace. Thanks to this important overt, Norman Angell's pamphlet on collective security is far less coning than it could have been.

Rene Manblanc's pamphlet *Pacifism and the Intellectuals* also suffers ewhat from what it leaves unsaid. The author sets himself the task efuting the arguments for a rapprochement with Hitler Germany against the Franco-Soviet Pact, which are being advanced among French intellectuals, particularly in circles connected with the ilance Committee"—an organization which has set itself the task arrying on a struggle against fascism. It is true that Manblanc eeds in refuting their sophistry to the effect that "just" concessions he territorial demands made by German fascism will help to bring t its defeat. He writes:

> "Thus, from the point of view of the 'pacifist' intellectuals the successes achieved by this regime do not strengthen it

> but weaken it. . . . Will you not add then that if France were to take the initiative tomorrow in offering to Hitler the 'Anschluss' [the unification of Austria to Germany—Ed.], Memel and Danzig (which it is true, do not belong to France) and also a few of the African colonies to boot, Hitler would find himself on the eve of collapse, because the Germans, satisfied at last in their thirst for justice and in their feeling of honor, would immediately turn away from the man who returned them their justice and honor."

But Manblanc hardly gives an answer to the other arguments of these unique "pacifists", especially the arguments against collective security, sanctions, and the Franco-Soviet Pact, restricting himself to citing quotations.

On the other hand, Francis Jourdain's pamphlet, *Should Hitler Be Given Colonies?* is well done and convincing. The author subjects to a devastating criticism the views of those so-called pacifists who propose, with a pretense at "love of peace" and "love of mankind" to assure themselves against war in Europe, by sacrificing a few million colonial slaves to fascist Germany. Some of them even declare that such a solution of the problem of war and peace would "alleviate the need of the German people". Jourdain exposes all the hypocrisy of this sophistry:

> "Colonization can undoubtedly increase the profits of the capitalists and the number of those in receipt of profit, but how can it relieve the poverty of the working people? It can only deepen it. . . . Since the leaders of the 'Third Empire' are so anxious to alleviate the need of the workers, why do they not give them a little at least of the resources which exist not in hypothetical and distant mines, but are kept in the safes of the German capitalists?"

The great merit of Jourdains pamphlet is also that, in spite of its small size, every thesis of the author is illustrated by facts and figures.

* * *

On the whole, the pamphlets of the World Committee will undoubtedly be of considerable assistance to the supporters of peace in clarifying the basic questions of the struggle against war. It only remains to be hoped that the next edition of the series will deal not only with the question of strategy, the question of the *direction* of the blow in the anti-war struggle, but in accordance with the general title of the series, will deal with questions of *tactics*, questions of the *forms and methods* of the struggle against war. The opponents of war want to know not only *what* to do, but also *how* to do it.

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